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REPORTS AND DOCUMENTS

NATIONAL ELECTION CONFERENCE

of the

COMMUNIST PARTY

(New York City, August 7-8, 1954)

SPECIAL ENLARGED ISSUE

The Communist Program—

THE AMERICAN WAY

TO JOBS, PEACE, EQUAL RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY

Program of the Communist Party

Unanimously ratified by the recent National Election Conference of the Communist Party after five months of study and discussion, this is the finalized text of the Party's Program. Here the reader will find for himself what the Communist Party actually stands for, and may examine its proposals for advancing the interests of the vast majority of the American people.

READ, STUDY, SPREAD THIS VITAL DOCUMENT.

LET IT REACH THE MILLIONS!

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A Theoretical and Political Magazine of Scientific Socialism

Editor: V. J. Jerome

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Answer the Attack on the Communist Party and the Labor Movement!

National Committee Statement on the Communist Control Act

THE ENACTMENT INTO LAW of the Communist Control Act of 1954, which outlaws the Communist Party as a political party and further shackles the American trade unions, is a major triumph for McCarthyism, that arch-enemy of our democratic freedoms.

The law represents the most extreme step ever taken against political and democratic liberties in the history of our country. It is a sharp break with the Constitution and the theory of government on which it is based. It is a long step toward a police state.

By depriving the Communist Party of its political rights, this law is clearly a bill of attainder—that is, a legislative decree making a “finding” of “guilt” without evidence or due process. It is a thought-control device aimed to persecute a group of Americans against whom there is not the slightest proof of any of the overt acts slanderously decreed by hysterical legislators doing the bidding of McCarthyism.

A malignant feature of the law—carefully combined with the anti-Communist clauses to conceal its true purpose—is that it contains the Butler Bill, which, under pretext of “Communist infiltration” or “domi-

nation,” undertakes to establish a system of Government licensing of American trade unions in accord with their opinions and programs. It sets up what the entire labor movement had been opposing in this 83rd Congress—a system of “trials” and “tests” for unions on which depends their right to collective bargaining before the National Labor Relations Board. This move is a stab at the vitals of the trade unions under cover of the McCarthyite witchhunt for “subversives.”

* * *

The law’s entire basis rests on arbitrary definitions of a set of political opinions as constituting a crime punishable by heavy jail terms. The law demands that Americans shall “register” themselves as guilty of these thought-control crimes—or face jail and fines. The entire legal system contains built-in guilty verdicts by the law’s own definitions. The guilt is assumed in advance.

The law’s notorious “14 points”—concerning talking, writing, or association, are taken from the New Deal-hater Representative Martin Dies who got it from the Mussolini-admirer, Judge Musmanno of Pennsylvania. These “14 points” are a political dragnet capable of enmeshing

any American or group on the basis of dissent from any prevailing dogma or orthodoxy. No American can feel safe in his opinions as long as this law stays on the statute books.

Not only is this anti-Communist, anti-union legislation in itself fascist in character, but so also was the hasty haste with which it was rammed through Congress. Without hearings, reports or adequate debate, this barbaric measure was dynamited through in an atmosphere of ideological terrorism, as Hitler was wont to do. In the words of the Republican *Herald Tribune*: "If the Senate and the House had gone collectively mad in these last days of the session they could hardly have acted more wildly than they have in regard to the Communist issue." The *New York Times* similarly condemned the panic action as a "stampede" which is "contrary to the spirit of orderly government."

How did this law arise?

It is impossible for the Congress or the White House to claim that there is a popular clamor in the country for a march down the path taken by the Nazis in their "anti-Communist" destruction of democracy and their drive to aggressive "anti-Communist" war.

This fascist-modelled legislation is the fruit of the Eisenhower-Brownell policies, based on the appeasement of McCarthyism and collusion with it. These Eisenhower-Brownell policies to curb democratic liberties have already seriously undermined the Constitution and its democratic pro-

tections.

For the Eisenhower-Brownell doctrines are based on a decree of "guilt" and jailing of Americans who cannot be proved guilty of anything but the holding of social views not to the liking of the government.

The adoption of the Big Lie of McCarthyism opens the door to the systematic destruction of the Constitution, due process and the liberties inherent in the 170-year heritage of the Bill of Rights.

Most disgraceful of all was the part played by the so-called "liberal" Democrats in the Senate who sparked the outlaw-the-Communists amendment. They engaged in a vain effort to prove to the McCarthyite fascists that they too are "loyal" and thus do not deserve the brutal attacks of the McCarthyites. Senators like Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn) played fast and loose with the fate of the nation's democratic liberties. They have in fact fastened a noose with which the McCarthyites will surely try to strangle them along with the Bill of Rights.

Leaders of the trade unions who may have figured in this crude maneuver must realize that the ultra-reactionary legislation of the 83rd Congress is especially aimed to weaken the trade-union movement, even more dangerously than the notorious Taft-Hartley law has done. It is the height of folly for labor leaders to believe that such vicious legislation does not concern organized labor. This was the fatal illusion of the Social-Democratic trade-union lead-

ers of Germany in the face of rising Hitlerism. They thought that only the Communists were being attacked and that they and their unions were safe. But when Hitler came to power, his Nazis, with one sudden blow, completely demolished the entire Social-Democratic organization.

* * *

It was not by accident that the Congress which stampeded through the passage of the outlaw-the-Communists law is the same Congress which gave more to the giant Wall Street trusts and less to the people than almost any Congress of the past fifty years.

This Congress and the White House shocked the country with their "give-away" policies favoring the corporations and the looters of the national wealth. "Saving the country from Communism," the Congress turned fifty billion dollars' worth of offshore oil deposits over to the oil trust; struck a blow at cheap power through ordering TVA to buy private power; opened the door to the plundering of the government's atomic power developments.

"Saving the country from Communism," the Congress spurned Taft-Hartley revision, smashed down the Federal aid to the American farmer, wrecked even the meagre Federal low-cost housing program, refused to grant the country the Federal health system it needs.

"Saving the country from Communism," it gave a bonanza in tax "give-away" to owners of Wall Street

stocks, while refusing to give any genuine tax relief to the masses of wage earners, farmers and small business men.

"Saving the country from Communism," the 83rd Congress showed a greater contempt for civil rights issues than any Congress in the past. The GOP promise to eliminate the poll tax, lynching, and jim crow discrimination in industry, was discarded amid the noisy racism of the McCarthyite attacks.

All that the people got from this super-reactionary "anti-Communist" Congress was an extension of the inadequate social security system, and a 5 per cent pay rise for postal workers—which President Eisenhower promptly vetoed, though the cost to the government would not have been more than one-and-a-half day's spending in the "defense" program for guns.

* * *

This anti-Communist law is a heavy blow to the honor and prestige of our nation in the eyes of the world.

Nations everywhere are marching to peaceful negotiations and co-existence with the Socialist countries, in exact contrast to the McCarthyite hysteria in the United States.

While the Big Lie about the "Communist menace" is being discarded along with the cold war, in West Europe and Asia, the political leaders here are intensifying the Big Lie and the cold war as far as they can.

They are taking 40 billion dollars every year from the country's pocket to finance this cold war with its pol-

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icies of provocation and military "aid," which contain the danger of an H-bomb world war.

The people of the world see in his anti-Communist law a copy of the laws of Hitler and Mussolini, and wonder where the USA is going, and where it wants to take the rest of mankind.

* * *

The law is based on the Hitlerite Big Lie that the Communist Party teaches and advocates the violent overthrow of the United States government. This is completely false. The Communist Party in its 35 years of existence has never advocated, nor does it advocate today, the overthrow of our government by force and violence. The official Program of the Communist Party states unequivocally:

"The Communist Party advocates a peaceful path to Socialism in the United States. It brands as a lie the charge that it advocates the use of force and violence in the pursuit of its immediate or long-range goals. It declares that Socialism will come into existence in the United States only when the majority of the American people decide to establish it."

This is the position of the Communist Party. All the lying testimony of the army of stoolpigeons and informers in the numerous Smith Act trials has been unable to provide evidence of a single act of violence or of any plan on the part of Communists for the violent overthrow of our government.

The slander of "conspiracy" aimed

against the Communist Party ignores the clear truth that the Party bases its opinions and acts on real social conditions, on the real needs of the people and the nation as they develop objectively in the real world.

Thus, it is impossible for any hysterical group of imitation-fascists to outlaw the ideas or the influence of the Communist Party. Communist Parties have been outlawed by anti-democratic dictatorships in many lands; today Communist Parties stand at the head of the peoples' movements of many nations because they represent the needs of their nations and the will of the majority.

The Communist Party challenges the right of Congress to ban any political ideas or movement, or to rob the American people of the right to make their own political and social decisions in the market-place of ideas. It will carry this fight to the courts, and to the people.

The widespread condemnation of the measure by newspapers, lawyers, historians, trade unionists and persons from all walks of life gives us confidence that this fascist law will be nullified, even as were the Alien and Sedition Acts of 155 years ago.

* * *

Is the battle lost to the McCarthyites?

Is America doomed to take the fatal path to fascism and war?

Emphatically no, despite the disaster of the present anti-Communist and anti-labor monstrosity!

The needs of the people can break through the hysteria. The honor of

America and its devotion to its democratic heritage are not gone down the drain of McCarthyism. The national will to peace is bound to assert itself in a demand for an end to McCarthyism.

If the Humphreys in Congress—with their frantic appeasement of McCarthyism and their cry for more guns and more war provocations—think to “play ball” with reaction, this is not the feeling of the millions of workers, small farmers and Negro masses who follow the lead of the Democratic Party because they still believe in it. The line of the Humphreys would spell big gains for the Republicans and McCarthyites in the coming elections—this line permits the worst reactionaries to pose as anti-war and “middle-of-the-roadsers”!

The will of these millions of American voters—who kept the New Deal in office, who won trade-union rights, and who now want an America free of war and repression—is yet to be heard from. They must and will be heard from now and in November.

The Communist Party Program on this point is in agreement with the thoughts of millions:

“The immediate objective in 1954 must be to prevent the Eisenhower Administration and Congress from taking the country further down the road of McCarthyism. Defeating McCarthyism requires the turning of the present Administration out of political power, first by changing the composition of Congress in 1954 and then by electing a new Administra-

tion in 1956.”

We are confident that if labor, the working farmers and the Negro people use their democratic strength, they can change the character of Congress by retiring the McCarthyite-McCarranite-Dixiecrat cabal and electing men and women who will have the courage to defend the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

The 15,000,000 trade unionists, together with the Negro people and the working farmers, if united, could quickly defeat the peril of McCarthyism in the United States.

We urge all Americans who stand by the Constitution to unite in a common effort to invalidate and repeal this monstrosity.

We Communists will continue our fight for peace, democracy, the people's well-being, for the rights of labor and the Negro people. Despite this new attack, our Party stands unterrified. It walks in the great tradition of American movements like the abolitionists and the pioneer trade unionists who survived organized persecution and government efforts to illegalize them. The Communist Party will function under any and all circumstances and fight for its legal existence. In so doing it is fighting not for its own rights alone, but for the Bill of Rights for all Americans.

For the National Committee
C.P.U.S.A.

William Z. Foster
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn
Pettis Perry

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Message to the Conference of the C. P. U. S. A.

By William Z. Foster

Greetings to the National Election Conference. I am very sorry that I cannot be with you to participate in your deliberations. May I, nevertheless, make a few remarks on the general question of the fight for peace?

Our Conference is meeting in what is indeed a crucial point of history. As the world democratic masses fight for peaceful co-existence between the capitalist and socialist states, which means for world peace, the American forces of reaction push on with their program for imperialist aggression and war. This situation presents grave responsibilities for the American working class, the Negro people, the working farmers, and the other democratic strata of this country. The *Draft Program* clearly presents these basic tasks, chief among which is the fight against the war danger, against McCarthyite fascism, against the developing economic crisis, and for the rights of the Negro people. Of these elementary tasks in this period I shall deal only with the central one, that of the fight for peace, for the peaceful co-existence of all nations.

This will be a central and decisive issue in the November elections.

As our Party has repeatedly pointed out, ever since the end of World War II, Wall Street monopoly capital, by means of its control of the United States government, has been carrying on a reckless and reactionary drive to master the world through another great world war. We were among the very first to signalize this terrible reality, and thereby we did a vital service to the cause of world peace. World conquest has throughout been the central goal of the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations, both of which have thus faithfully done the bidding of big capital in its drive for domination of the world. This has been the purpose of the whole body of foreign policies of these two Administrations, as well as of the gigantic armaments-militarization program carried out in this country. To further this huge program of imperialist conquest and war some \$250 billion of the American people's money has been squandered here and abroad.

It is a tragedy for the American

people that the top trade-union leaders and the heads of Negro, farmer, and other people's organizations, grossly betraying the most vital interests not only of their own rank and file, but of the entire American nation, have shamelessly supported the Wall Street program of imperialist conquest. By the same token, it is to the great honor of the Communist Party that, notwithstanding violent government persecution, it has steadfastly dared to expose and to combat the attempt of Wall Street to plunge the world into an atomic war in order further to swell its already stupendous profits.

It is to the profound benefit of all humanity in general, and of the American people in particular, that American imperialism and its allies are being defeated in their deadly program of aggression. This is because the peace-loving peoples of the world, including those of the United States, are resisting this program and are thus making it bankrupt! This basic fact should cause the whole democratic world to rejoice. Here are some of the elements of this bankruptcy:

The world capitalist anti-Soviet war alliance, upon which the American government has squandered scores of billions of dollars, is being undermined by the refusal of the peoples of the various countries to be cannon fodder for Wall Street.

The A- and H-bomb monopoly, upon which Wall Street based its war program, has long since been

broken by the USSR. It is a great victory for peace thus to take the sole control of such frightful weapons away from the reckless reactionaries now dominating the United States government.

The huge propaganda of Wall Street to convince the world of the Big Lie that the Soviet Union is a menace to world peace has also backfired, to such an extent that the United States, controlled as it is by reactionaries and warmongers, has become the most hated and feared country in the world, the main source of the danger of war and fascism in the world.

These victories for peace have been matched also by the peoples' defeat of Wall Street's attempts to expand the Korean and Indo-Chinese wars into great Asian atomic conflicts, as well as their defeat of the June 17, 1953 insurrection in East Germany, which was initiated by agents of the State Department for the purpose of launching a broad civil war in Germany. Their latest attempt, to develop the Hainan island plane incident into an Asian war, has also been frustrated by the peace resistance of the peoples.

All these victories of the peace-loving masses, in which the American people have played a role, have substantially eased international tension and the fear of war. They have checked the warmongers on many fronts. But the peace of the world cannot be safe so long as the Wall Street monopolists controlling this

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vast country and its tremendous industries, natural resources, and working forces, remain uncurbed by the people.

The greatest mistake that could be made now would be to conclude from the many recent peace victories of the world's peoples that the danger of war is now past. Especially our Party, living in the United States, must be keen to alert the world to the danger of American imperialism. We must step up our efforts and utilize the victories won in order to inspire the people to win new and still greater successes for peace, so that the peoples may finally assure the peaceful co-existence in the world of all capitalist and socialist states. The *Draft Program* outlines the next steps in this basic fight, and so also will the Reports to the Conference. Therefore there is no need for me to stress all these practical programs in these remarks.

Let me cite, however, that the July ad issue of *For a Lasting Peace; For a People's Democracy*, contains a most timely warning against any tendency to slacken the fight for peace because of recent victories won in this fight. It says: "The significance of the relaxation in the international tension must not, however, be overestimated, since the enemies of the strengthening of peace, in the first place the ruling circles of the United States, have not abandoned their aggressive designs and are continuing the arms drive, provoking war conflicts in various parts of the

world and setting up new military blocs and war bases. . . . All this urgently demands that all those who cherish peace and the security of the people, intensify, in a large measure, the struggle against the aggressive forces." This is a basic lesson, to continue and intensify the mass peace pressure against Wall Street imperialism; a lesson which however, unfortunately, numbers of our comrades have forgotten in the recent past.

Just a couple of quotations to help us to understand that the continuing war danger is a reality. The first one from the brilliant Marxist writer, R. Palme Dutt, in the July, 1954 *Labour Monthly* (London). He says:

So long as Dulles remains Secretary of State, so long as Admiral Radford (openly aiming at a major war with China) remains in charge of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and so long as the atom bomb-rattling General Gruenther remains in command at Fontainebleau, the shadow of sudden, violent, bellicose action by the American war clique hangs over the world situation.

The second quotation is from *Pravda* of July 3, 1954. This great Soviet Communist journal, dealing with American maneuvers to disrupt the Geneva peace conference, clearly indicates the world war program of the Wall Street government of this country. It says that "the United States, exerting pressure upon its partners, is drawing them into interference in the affairs of other

countries, drawing them into a new world war."

These are some of the major considerations that we have to bear in mind in handling the question of peace in the coming elections. These elections will be a strong test of our Party's ability to mobilize the masses for struggle, above all, the workers; for without the support of the working class, the fight for peace and the other great issues confronting the American people cannot be successful.

* * *

The Communist Party of the United States is now under heavy attack from the government. This persecution requires of us real courage and a resolute fight to preserve the life and legal status of our Party. It also necessitates the strongest possible fight to defend those comrades now under indictments and to free the many who are now in jail. It has been one of our greatest weaknesses that we have not made a more determined and effective struggle to free Gene Dennis, Ben Davis, and the many other splendid fighters who are now languishing in capitalist jails.

A solid fight to defend our Party and to protect its members and leaders whether in the capitalist courts, in the forum of public opinion, or on the floor of union halls, can be made only upon the basis of an all-out participation in the class struggle along the lines outlined in the

Draft Program—for peace, for democracy, and for mass protection from the ravages of the developing economic crisis.

Conditions are propitious at the present juncture for leading such a struggle of the masses. The people of this country, despite the rankest betrayal by liberals and trade-union leaders, are definitely in a mood to fight against the warmongers, fascists and profiteers. If American imperialism is finding its foreign policy of aggression increasingly bankrupt, this is largely because of the mass resistance to it by the working class, Negro people, working farmers, etc., in this country. Although large sections of these American masses are considerably confused by imperialist war propaganda, nevertheless, they emphatically do not want war. This they have shown repeatedly, by their active resistance to the proposals of MacArthur, Dulles, Truman, Eisenhower, and others, for the A-bombing of Chinese cities, by their successful insistence upon a cease-fire in Korea and Indo-China, by their flat rejection of the Government's scheme to send American soldiers into Indo-China, and by many other actions.

The United States will soon be the scene of broad and vital class struggles. For the democratic masses here are in political harmony with the great world peace movement. All the political misleaders now doing the bidding of American imperialism cannot indefinitely prevent their

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rising mass spirit of dissent and resentment from finding expression. It is the supreme task of the Communist Party, notwithstanding every persecution, to give the maximum possible leadership to these awakening masses. Especially must we make our efforts count in the fight for peace. The *Draft Program* points the way to accomplish this.

This is a time that truly inspires all fighters for freedom and democracy, especially Communists. There is no place in our Party's ranks for faint hearts and pessimists. Such people are blind to the tremendous advances that are being made during these years by the world forces of peace and freedom, of which the American people are most definitely an important section. They cannot see beyond their noses. Now, more than ever, our Party needs an

indomitable fighting spirit.

The world is moving rapidly towards peace, democracy and Socialism, and our Party, situated in this main stronghold of world capitalism, must do its full part. For over a century, the workers and their allies have battled, often in the face of huge odds, against the forces of entrenched capitalist greed and power. But now the ramparts of world capitalism are rapidly falling, and Socialism is being constructed throughout vast sections of the world. Capitalism is being pushed off the stage of history. Let this tremendous reality inspire us to meet the great tasks of education, organization, and struggle now confronting the American people; concretely, in the important struggles now shaping up for the American people in the coming elections.

Greetings of the Conference

To Eugene Dennis:

We delegates to the National Election Conference of the Communist Party, USA, meeting in New York City on August 7th and 8th, send you our warmest greetings, dear Comrade 'Gene, on your fiftieth birthday. We express to you, once again, our profound appreciation of the supremely able and courageous leadership you have given over the

years to our Party and the American working class. We need you in the crucial struggles of today; and we pledge to intensify our campaign to win your freedom. With love and comradeship, we wish you good health and many long years of active leadership in the great cause of peace, democracy and socialism.

To the Imprisoned and Refugee Members of the National Committee:

The National Election Conference of the Communist Party, U.S.A., meeting in New York City on August 7th and 8th, 1954, salutes and sends warmest comradely greetings to Eugene Dennis, Ben Davis, Gus Hall, Henry Winston, John Williamson, John Gates, Gil Green, Irving Potash, Jack Stachel, Bob Thompson, Carl Winter, beloved national leaders of our Party who have been imprisoned or forced to become refugees by the growing fascist tyranny and oppression in our country.

This Conference is dedicated to the task of guaranteeing that the 1954 elections will bring about the defeat of McCarthyite, McCarranite and Dixiecrat candidates of both major political parties—of all who support the war and fascism program of U.S. imperialism; and that these elections will register great advances by the working class and its allies—the overwhelming mass of the American people—in defending and extending democracy and peace. We

are guided in our deliberations by the clear and sound political leadership you have given our movement over the years; and we pledge to fulfill our responsibility to our Party, our class and our nation with that Communist courage and selfless devotion which your example inspires in all true fighters for the people.

The McCarthyite frame-up which led to your imprisonment is becoming clear to more and more people in our country and throughout the world. We pledge to continue to expose the colossal injustice of your conviction, and to develop a powerful people's movement which will achieve your freedom and restore you to active leadership in the momentous struggles of our time. That we regard as an indispensable task in the defense of peace and freedom for the whole American people.

Each and all, we clasp your hand in comradeship!

The November Elections and the Struggle for Jobs, Peace, Equal Rights, and Democracy

by Pettis Perry

(Main Report)

I. INTRODUCTION

THE PURPOSE of our National Election Conference is to equip our Party to make its most effective contribution to the fight for jobs, peace, equal rights and democracy in the crucial November Congressional and State elections.

These elections are taking place in a period of growing opposition to the Eisenhower-Big Business Administration and its policies of war, depression and the embracing of McCarthyism. It is a period characterized by ever greater opportunities to win victories for peace and democracy. It is a period which fully confirms the forecast made by the National Party Conference (summer, 1953) and the Party's Program.

Think of what has happened within just the past few months!

The fight for peace has won a great historic victory with the Geneva cease-fire and settlement in Indo-China. Today, for the first time since World War II, there is no large-scale shooting war. World tensions have been further eased. The power of peaceful negotiations as a means of settling disputes has

been brilliantly demonstrated. And, what is more, new millions of peace-loving people are coming to insist upon peaceful co-existence as the only possible alternative to H-bomb destruction.

The anti-McCarthy upsurge has reached a new peak in the course of the Army-McCarthy hearings, with a majority of the American people declaring themselves against the would-be American Hitler. The anti-depression programs and actions of labor, the farmers and the Negro people have become key national questions. The Negro liberation movement and its white allies have won a signal legal victory against segregation in education.

These victories, in turn, open up further new possibilities, which must be grasped with boldness and vigor. For victories cannot be won without struggle—a struggle that becomes sharper as the camp of war and reaction becomes more desperate.

Can one doubt that with every people's victory, American imperialism and its spokesmen seek more desperately than ever to further their policies of world domination and war against the Soviet Union?

That they intensify their efforts to impose fascism at home and to destroy the living standards and rights of the American people? This is shown by the monstrous act of Eisenhower and Dulles in overthrowing the democratic government of Guatemala. It is shown by the Eisenhower-Brownell drive to jam through Congress their program of new McCarthyite legislation.*

The vital significance of the November elections is that they bring all these struggles to a focus; that they pose the basic issue: Will the Administration and the McCarthyites gain new strength for their program of H-bomb warfare and McCarthyism? Or, will labor and the people emerge better able to bar the road to war and fascism in the course of the new mass struggles that lie ahead in all fields—including the next Congress, the '55 elections and the decisive Presidential elections of 1956?

This is the issue and this determines the electoral objectives of labor and the people. As the Program states:

"The immediate objective in 1954 must be to prevent the Eisenhower Administration from taking the country further down the road of McCarthyism. Defeating McCarthyism requires turning the present Administration out of power, first by changing the composition of Congress and then by electing

a new Administration in '56. . . .

"The 1954 elections are crucial in determining the path America will take. . . . What is needed is unity of every decent, honest force of our people, of all independent-minded voters, whether Democrats, Republicans or progressives. Such unity must set itself the objective of electing an anti-McCarthy Congress by defeating every McCarthy-McCarran-Dixiecrat type of candidate, every pro-fascist and rabid war-monger. It is also necessary to bring into the halls of Congress a bloc of articulate and uncompromising opponents of McCarthyism, of courageous spokesmen for a further relaxation of world tension, and for the defense of the people from the ravages of economic depression. Labor and Negro representation in Congress must be strengthened by electing a large number of trade union and Negro candidates. This will facilitate the election of a new Administration in 1956. . . .

"The key to both the crucial 1954 and 1956 elections lies in the ability of organized labor to come forward as a distinct political force even within the frame-work of the present two-party system. Labor must come forward with its own clearcut progressive program for the nation, its own ties and alliances with other independent electoral forces and its own highly organized and efficient election machinery. The objective must be to help bring about a re-grouping and realignment within the Democratic Party nationally and within the Republican Party in local areas."

These objectives can and will secure broad support, for they reflect the basic interests of labor, the farm-

* This Report was delivered prior to the enactment of the Communist Control Act. That action further substantiates the analysis made in this Report.—*ed.*

er, the Negro people, the small business man and professional, the woman and the youth. They advance the fight for unity against McCarthyism, war, and economic depression.

That is why the GOP, the pro-McCarthy Democrats (McCarran-Farley-Dixiecrat) and the Right-wing Social-Democrats seek to distort the Program with McCarthyite charges that Communists plan to "infiltrate," "capture," or "arrange a marriage of convenience" with the Democratic Party.

Why are these lying charges made?

They are made first in order to obscure the main objective of our Party Program, which is to further the unity of every decent, honest force of the American people against McCarthyism and war. Second, the GOP makes these charges to further its McCarthyite "twenty years of treason" campaign to weaken and destroy the Democratic Party. The McCarthyites in the Democratic Party make them in order to further their campaign drive to McCarthyize the Democratic Party by destroying its liberal-ADA groupings.

Meanwhile, the Right-wing Social-Democrats collaborate by echoing these charges. They seek to disunite labor with cries of Communist "kiss of death" and with pleas for "anti-Communism without McCarthyism."

It is clear that this can only play into the hands of the McCarthyites.

These charges are false—as those who make them well know! We Communists have our own Party and

are not interested in "capturing" any other party. We are, however, as a working-class party, very much interested in helping labor and its allies further their program in any political arena in which they choose to fight.

Secondly, we maintain that the two-party system is controlled by Big Business. We hold that it is illusory even for labor and its allies, the majority of the population, to seek to "capture" a major national party. Rather we believe that in the course of their struggles they must move towards the setting up of a new party led by labor—a farmer-labor party.

We recognize as a fact that labor's present course is to fight for its program primarily within the two-party system, especially the Democratic Party. We propose to help them do so. At the same time we will express our own views on the eventual direction of labor's political action as its struggles within the two-party system unfold.

Above all, we stress the immediate need for labor to come forward as a distinct political force within and without the two-party system, building its own political action machinery and advancing its own program on the issues.

II. THE FIRST ROUND OF PRIMARIES

As the first round of primaries draws to a close, it is necessary to

appraise the results and chart the course ahead for November. Primaries have been held in such key states as Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, California, Michigan, New Jersey, Alabama and North Carolina. A number still lie ahead, including New York, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Washington and Colorado. They deserve major attention and provide labor with opportunities to apply the lessons of the spring primaries and to strengthen the prospects for labor and people's victories in November.

In charting the course ahead, we need to examine the issues and the way in which they are reflected and fought out in the electoral field; the developments within the major parties; the role of labor, the Negro people and other allies of labor; the policies and activity of the advanced electoral movements and of our Party; and the main tasks between now and November.

To begin with, a few remarks on the general situation. First, the prestige of the GOP and the Eisenhower Administration is at its lowest point since the fall elections of 1953. This is borne out by the unexpectedly low GOP primary turn-out in Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania and other states. It is particularly shown by the California primary, where the GOP for the first time in years failed to capture both major party nominations for its leading candidates and must now campaign for its ticket in November.

Why is this? Clearly it is due to

deep-going dissatisfaction with the Administration on the main issues. The 1952 illusions in Eisenhower's peace demagoguery have been weakened by such events as the mass upsurge against intervention in Indo-China and the H-bomb menace, the defeat of Dulles' attempt to prevent the Geneva settlement, and the failure of the "massive retaliation" policy. The illusion among independent and liberal voters that Eisenhower is a barrier to McCarthyism has been dissipated by the revelation of Administration appeasement of McCarthy as shown in the Army-McCarthy hearings, by the Oppenheimer case, by Eisenhower's endorsement of the McCarthyite Meek, and by the embracing of McCarthyism typified in the Brownell program. The refusal of the Administration to take remedial action in the face of growing unemployment and declining farm incomes has further alienated labor, farm and Negro voters. And the failure of the Administration and Congress to carry out even the feeble gestures towards social legislation contained in Eisenhower's State of the Union and accompanying messages has largely defeated the demagogic purpose of the messages—that is, to check the decline of GOP popularity and offset the "postpone and study" record of the "give-away, take-away" 83rd Congress.

The result is a situation which contains potentially the elements for a large-scale Democratic victory in November. But this potential victory

is in question for a number of reasons. It is in question first and foremost because the Democratic leadership supports the war policies of the Administration—even criticizes many of these policies *from the Right*. It has not learned the lesson of 1918. It alienates the peace-loving masses and opens the door for McCarthyite and Administration peace demagoguery. The GOP high command intends to exploit this situation fully. As has been widely reported, it will base its fall campaign largely on the theme of "peace in our time."

It is in question, secondly, because the Democratic national leadership, despite certain anti-McCarthy speeches, does not fight McCarthyism. On the contrary, it appears it in the Democratic Party and connives with it in the GOP. Thus, National Chairman Mitchell launches a McCarthyite attack on Congressman Condon of California; and Senate Minority Leader Lyndon Johnson of Texas—home state of McCarthy's big oil men supporters—sabotages the Senate fight for the Flanders resolution to censure McCarthy. And in the closing days of Congress, Senate Democrats undertook to go Brownell one better by introducing their own McCarthyite legislation to outlaw the Communist Party.

Finally, it is in question because of Stevenson's abandonment of civil rights legislation, his wooing of the Dixiecrats, and the refusal of the Democratic Party to name Negro candidates in the primaries in any

appreciable number. This is taking place in the face of extensive GOP maneuvers to attract Negro voters through the appointment of Negro leaders to government offices, the naming of some additional Negro candidates, and a large scale campaign to exploit the Supreme Court decision on segregation in education.

Moreover, even should a Democratic victory take place despite all this, a change in party control of Congress—while having important repercussions—would by no means assure a change in the *composition* of Congress in respect to the issues of peace, McCarthyism and the like.

What is decisive in the primaries and elections ahead, therefore, are the struggles of the masses and in particular the independent intervention of labor as regards issues, candidates and campaigns. The primaries held thus far show that this must be greatly strengthened if the labor and people's electoral objectives are to be attained.

Let us turn now to the main issues and movements as they reflect themselves in the primaries, to the main tactical problems to be solved and the tasks to be achieved.

III. THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

The struggle for peace is of decisive importance for the 1954 elections. What are the chief new features in this struggle today as revealed by the events leading to the

winning of the cease-fire in Indo-China?

The first new feature is that American imperialism, as forecast in the Stevens report, can indeed be compelled against its will to enter into negotiations. More, the Berlin and Geneva conferences show that the Eisenhower Administration can be forced to *assent* to the results of negotiations once its plans to block a settlement are frustrated.

The Indo-China settlement is a powerful demonstration of the fruitfulness of peaceful negotiations. It is giving rise in this country and in the world to a broad mass debate on the possibility and necessity of peaceful co-existence; on the need to seat People's China in the UN and to expand East-West trade. It opens further the prospect of struggling to end the whole "cold-war" policy, the lying pretext for the McCarthyite offensive against American freedoms.

This victory for peace is due to the peace initiatives and peace policy of the Soviet Union, People's China and the world peace camp; to the power of the colonial-liberation movement, and especially the valiant fight for freedom of the people of Indo-China; to the sharpened inter-imperialist contradictions between U.S. imperialism and the imperialism of Great Britain and France.

The victory is due likewise—and this is of great significance for us—to the new scope and power of the American peace sentiment and peace action which arose in the past few

months in response to the threat of H-bomb war and military intervention. It was this, together with the world factors, which stayed the hands of Eisenhower and Dulles on the very brink of large-scale armed intervention in Indo-China.

This new scope and power of American peace action is the second new feature in the fight for peace. It lays the basis for a great expansion of organized peace activity of all types especially in relation to the November elections—in the unions and people's organizations, in the conservative peace centers and on the part of the advanced peace centers.

This is very much needed. Comrade Foster, who first called our attention to the new possibilities in the present period, points out in his message to our Conference that the greatest mistake we could make would be to conclude from the present easing of world tensions that the war danger has disappeared. Under no circumstances can we permit any relaxation of the struggle for peace such as occurred after the Korean cease-fire.

For events show that the Administration has by no means adopted a *policy* of negotiations. Quite the contrary, unable to stop the Geneva settlement, it is now pressing German rearmament and opposing the banning of the A- and H-bombs, and preparing a vast new plan to militarize the youth.

The crisis in the war policies of the Administration, however, can

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not be cured by intensifying the war drive. The Indo-China struggle has stimulated growing popular opposition to specific aspects of the Eisenhower war program and a growing mood of questioning and reassessment. Even among those who do not as yet recognize the war role of the Administration, there is widespread fear of the Knowland-Radford clique and its advocacy of the McCarthyist policy of "preventive" atomic war. As a result, the Administration is compelled to resort to new peace demagoguery.

The third new feature which thus emerges is the GOP-Eisenhower plan to exploit American peace sentiment by posing as champions of peace, particularly in the period between now and the November elections. They will seek to deceive public opinion as in the '52 campaign. While they will not be able to succeed as readily as then, the danger nonetheless is very great.

The danger is so great primarily because the Democratic top leadership continues to support the war program. This is true of all main national groupings—the McCarran-Dixiecrat, the Symington-type "moderates," the official Stevenson-Truman-Johnson-Rayburn leadership and the Right-wing ADA forces. Stevenson, for example, continues to urge a policy of "Eisenhower-must-succeed," while Lyndon Johnson even endorses Knowland's war-mongering demand that the USA quit the UN if People's China is admitted. The

main overall theme is support to the war program.

What is new, however, is that the popular upsurge against the H-bomb and intervention has found strong expression in sections of labor (the Textile, Clothing and Packing spring conventions, Mazey's important address to the Michigan CIO in June). And this, in turn, has begun to have an impact on certain Democratic Party circles.

The fourth new feature which emerges in the fight for peace, therefore, is the beginning of a certain differentiation on the peace issue in the Democratic Party. This process of differentiation, however, is complicated. It is necessary to distinguish several different ways in which the popular upsurge is reflected in the Democratic Party.

First, there is the attempt of the top forces to divert this upsurge into the limited channels of *partisan* criticism. Thus, the Washington National Democratic Conference in May criticized Dulles' "blundering" in Indo-China—it did not criticize the drive to intervene, but the inability to carry the "allies" along. The restoration of bi-partisanship in foreign policy was demanded, coupled with the threat to withhold such support unless the GOP ceased its "party of treason" campaign against the Democrats. Stevenson criticized the "new look" policy because of "cuts" in war expenditures. His attack on "massive retaliation," while directed against the criminal "preventive" war idea,

was tied to a defense of Korean-type "little wars."

This criticism is within the framework of general agreement with the war drive. The main Democratic leaders give no signs as yet of responding to the peace desires of the people and making a fight for peace in the elections.

The second way in which the mass upsurge is reflected is illustrated by the position of Democratic Senators Mansfield (Mont.), Kennedy (Mass.), Burke (Ohio) and others. They expressed opposition to French colonialism, proposed to refer the Indo-China question to the UN (FDR, Jr.), and in these and other ways sought to disassociate themselves from the policy of intervention in Indo-China — without, however, taking a fully forthright position against it.

The third, found among Democrats closer to labor circles, expresses the beginnings of a more genuine differentiation. Thus, Senator Johnson (D.-Colo.) made a sharp anti-intervention speech on April 26th at the most critical juncture. Particular significance attaches to the Amalgamated Convention address by Senator Morse (I.-Ore.), frequent speaker at labor conventions and conferences, in which he condemned the GOP as a "war party." Likewise, Senator Kefauver (D.-Tenn.), who just won a smashing victory against bitter Dixiecrat primary opposition, strongly opposed intervention. These voices begin to reflect more clearly

the growing peace demands of the people.

What impact have these new features in the struggle for peace had on the elections thus far? There is no doubt that election-year pressures have to some degree acted as a general deterrent to the war drive. This should not, of course, be distorted to mean that simply because this is an election year, the Administration won't dare make war-like moves. Had it not been for mass pressure, intervention in Indo-China might well have taken place.

But it must be said that, while the recent mass upsurge is changing the situation, the peace issue entered the early primaries only to a small degree, and in most cases negatively. In the Senatorial contests, Douglas (D.-Ill.), running unopposed in the primary, took a position even to the Right of the Administration, favored intervention and called for breaking relations with Poland. The Illinois Republicans offered a choice between Eisenhower supporters and *Chicago Tribune* McCarthyites; in Ohio between two Taftites. In California the Democratic Party endorsed a rabid warmonger, Yorty, for the U.S. Senate. The Democratic nominee in New Jersey proposed to his Republican opponent that foreign policy be kept out of the campaign by "adhering to a bi-partisan approach"!

What is true of the Senatorial race is true pretty generally. Up to now peace has not been the central issue. The peace forces have not succeeded

in making it so. Why is this?

First, there is the pro-war policy of labor's top leadership. Meany's disgraceful speech at the N. Y. State A.F. of L. Convention in July went so far as to oppose the cease-fire and reject peaceful co-existence. Furthermore, while growing sectors of labor are speaking for peace, they do not as yet put pressure on the candidates (generally Democrats) whom they support. On this, as on other matters, they tend to tail behind the Democratic Party.

Secondly, progressives are held back in their efforts to change this situation by two wrong tendencies. These tendencies are based on a mechanical counterposing of the fight for peace and the fight against McCarthyism. The first calls for the "defeat of the McCarthyites, period" and thus makes the peace question secondary. This tendency argues wrongly that to make the peace issue primary will exclude support for certain anti-McCarthy candidates whose stand on peace is not satisfactory. This position obviously ignores the main point—that is, the need to struggle to *influence* the candidate and his campaign through the pressure of his mass base.

The other tendency holds that the defeat of McCarthyites is not enough, that candidates must be judged on the peace issue *alone*. Since very few candidates indeed now take a forthright peace stand, this precludes a coalition tactic *now*. This approach likewise ignores the fight to *change* the position of candidates on the

peace issue, through the development of peace activities among the forces who constitute their mass base.

Such tendencies must be rejected if the difficult tactical situations presented by the November elections are to be solved. For example, the key contest in Illinois is the Meek-Douglas Senatorial race. The McCarthyite Meek campaigned as a "peace" candidate, opposing the sending of troops to Indo-China. The "liberal" Douglas favored intervention, although he has since admitted that his mail opposed intervention. Meek is thoroughly anti-labor and anti-Negro, opposes FEPC and all social legislation. Douglas has the full support of organized labor and the Negro people. There is no third candidate; the election laws prevent that.

In this situation the peace forces propose (1) to expose Meek's peace demagoguery and take away from him the mantle of peace; (2) to join with labor in the fight to defeat the McCarthyite Meek; (3) to make clear to the labor movement which supports Douglas that if they want their candidate to win they must see to it that he changes his position on peace; (4) to help organize pressure for peace through mass activities, through mail and delegations to Douglas, especially from the main conservative-led unions and organizations. At all times there exists the danger of a sectarian policy of sitting out the campaign, or making Douglas the main target, and of an opportunist policy of going along

with the pro-Douglas forces without making a real fight to influence the character of his campaign.

The weak role of the peace issue in the first round of primaries should not, however, blind us to the tremendous new possibilities that are beginning to appear. The events in and around the Indo-China cease-fire will have a profound effect. The Knowland-McCarthyite camp are threatening to make the UN and the admission of People's China an election issue. Their drive to upset the cease-fire and their frank advocacy of preventive war are stimulating great mass alarm.

Among the Democrats the process of differentiation on the peace issue—reflecting labor and popular opinion—is continuing. The reception of the Mazey speech among the workers will not be lost. Senator Morse centers his fire upon the Knowland camp, as in his July 17th pledge to campaign for Democratic candidates because "the election of a Republican Congress would be looked upon by the war crowd in the Administration as a mandate to go to war in Asia." Others, like FDR, Jr., and Harriman, with all their anti-Soviet beliefs, begin to speak of reassessing our foreign policy and argue against H-bomb war as a means of resolving conflicts between East and West.

In this situation, the key tasks of the peace forces are:

1. To grasp the new opportunities to make peace the central issue in the elections, and to make the

elections a struggle to advance the cause of peace.

2. To develop mass activities around the main peace issues. To enter the debate on the question of peaceful co-existence, and fight for a real change in America's foreign policy. To defend peaceful negotiations and the UN against the Knowland-McCarthy crowd, while exposing the maneuvers of the Eisenhower Administration. To defend the cease-fire; support the admission of People's China to the UN; oppose German and Japanese rearmament; ban the H-bomb; oppose UMT and the new plan to militarize the youth; cut war budgets; support the colonial-liberation struggles; expand East-West and world trade.

3. To help make the pro-peace position of the working class a real influence in the campaign of the labor-endorsed candidates. Likewise, the peace demands of the Negro people, the farmers, the women, the youth.

4. On this basis to help defeat the most rabid warmongers and elect a number of peace spokesmen to Congress.

IV. FOR AN ANTI-McCARTHY CONGRESS

The anti-McCarthy struggle has already become a central issue in the elections. This is due to the powerful anti-McCarthy upsurge of March and April which was further stimulated by the Army-McCarthy hearings. Just as the anti-McCarthy up-

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urgue has given new range to the expression of peace sentiment, so the rising opposition to the war policies of the Administration—to the war hysteria which is the breeding ground of McCarthyism—has given new momentum to the anti-McCarthy struggle.

This upsurge has had important consequences. A majority of anti-McCarthy sentiment has come into being. With it has come a growing willingness to challenge attacks on civil liberties. Mass pressure has put McCarthy on the defensive for the moment. It has finally forced the issue of McCarthy onto the floor of the Senate in the form of the Flanders resolution.

Most significant is that mass anti-McCarthy activity has begun. The outstanding example is the Wisconsin "Joe-Must-Go" recall movement. This spontaneous, grass-roots movement took on real mass proportions. Despite the initial lack of organization and the failure of state and national labor, farm and Democratic Party leaders to give support, it collected nearly 400,000 signatures (335,000 in the required 60-day period). While this was insufficient to bring about a recall election, it was a very powerful demonstration and set the stage for a new recall campaign after November.

Other movements have arisen. Thus, the "I Believe Benton" Committee placed ads in 25 daily papers throughout the country, calling for Senate investigation and action against McCarthy. Additional ads

in July urged support of the Flanders resolution.

Among the youth, anti-McCarthy activity has taken varied forms, such as the Robin Hood movement, academic freedom conference and the like. Grass-roots petitions have been circulated among women demanding that the Senate curb McCarthy.

Anti-McCarthy pronouncements in labor, Negro, farm, church and professional circles have taken on new vigor and depth. The UAW Educational Conference gave Bishop Sheil a forum from which to address a very important anti-McCarthy appeal to Catholic workers. And this week saw the passage of an anti-McCarthy resolution in the Massachusetts State A.F. of L. Convention, introduced by A.F. of L. leaders from McCarthy's reputed stronghold, Boston.

Especially important is the growing tendency in labor and other circles to brand McCarthyism as Hitlerism, that is, fascism. A number of unions have spoken in this vein (Transport, Amalgamated) as did the Dallas Convention resolution of the NAACP.

Nevertheless, in the very midst of this upsurge, *McCarthyism is making new inroads against the rights of the American people.* Congress, in its closing days, threatens to pass the whole Brownell program of McCarthyite legislation. Additional state laws of this type have been enacted, as in Texas. In Flint, Michigan, Congressman Clardy and General Motors are promoting a reign of terror

against militant trade unionists in a desperate effort to ensure Clardy's reelection. The indictment of Claude Lightfoot, under the membership provisions of the Smith Act, is a new serious invasion of democratic rights. There are increased deportations, denaturalizations and other attacks on the foreign-born.

How is this possible? How can we explain this contradiction between the powerful anti-McCarthy upsurge on the one hand, and the continued advances of McCarthyism on the other?

First, it is clear that a substantial, aggressive hard-core McCarthy following has been consolidated. It is by no means true as some said in the first flush of the anti-McCarthy upsurge that McCarthy—much less McCarthyism—is a dead duck.

Second, the anti-McCarthy forces, while a majority, are disunited. They are largely under the leadership of those whose quarrel is with McCarthy, not McCarthyism — and whose quarrel with McCarthy is limited. The Administration and other Big Business forces simply want to cut McCarthy down to size. The *World-Telegram* terms him "a major liability to anti-Communism." The *New York Times* holds (July 19) that "he has vulgarized and exploited a good cause." Along with these forces are, of course, a growing number who see the fascist character of McCarthyism, and some who begin to challenge the Big Lie of "Soviet aggression" and "Communist conspiracy," upon which the

McCarthyite, fascist drive is premised.

Third, while labor and other popular forces have spoken out with greater vigor, they have not taken the leadership in organizing action. This is shown by the shocking failure of the state and national CIO and A.F. of L. to take the lead in the Wisconsin recall drive. Likewise, labor failed to intervene in the Army-McCarthy hearings, with demands for serious action against McCarthy and his committee. Nor can it be said that labor played a leading role in the struggle around the Flanders resolution. It was an important step forward when the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. opposed some of the key features of the Brownell program, though this came late and was not backed up with mass action.

Labor's failure in this respect is due to the treacherous role of the Right-wing Social-Democratic and reformist trade-union leadership. Tied to the war program, they share McCarthy's own premises, the Big Lie of "Soviet aggression" and "Communist conspiracy." Always fearful of mass action, they seek to restrain labor's participation in organized mass anti-McCarthy activity.

The immediate key to breaking through, as is shown by the A. F. of L. Massachusetts State convention resolution, is *the mass exposure of McCarthy's anti-labor record*. It is on this basis that an aroused rank and file recognizing the anti-labor essence of McCarthyism, will insist that the unions take an active lead

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The most urgent need today is to clarify and strengthen the mass movement against McCarthy, McCarthyism, and fascism. Among other things, this requires that progressives distinguish three different but related and overlapping levels on which the mass movement is now simultaneously developing. This requires further that progressives taken an active part in *all* three levels.

First, there is the anti-McCarthy movement. This is the broadest and contains even some Big Business elements. Its limited aim is to curb McCarthy. Its demands vary from recall to removal from the Senate, or some form of censure, as in the Flanders and Lehman resolutions.

Labor and people's activity at present is developing primarily on this first level. The activity tends to be limited to this level because these forces by and large do not yet see that McCarthyism is fascism, because they do not yet challenge the Big Lie.

However, it must be strongly emphasized that the further development of this first level of struggle (simultaneously with the other two)—and above all labor's growing leadership in the fight for the main action demands—is vital to the whole mass movement.

Second, there is the level of anti-McCarthyism, the level of struggle, for example, against the Eisenhower-Brownell program. The movement

on this level, while growing, is much more limited. It is confined as yet to certain sectors of labor, some liberal forces and the progressives. The strengthening of this level will be facilitated by the expansion of the struggle on the first level. But that is not enough. The events in the last days of Congress show how necessary it is to concentrate special efforts upon strengthening the fight of labor and the people against McCarthyite legislation and repression.

Third, there is the conscious anti-fascist struggle which is beginning to challenge the "Big Lie"—the premise of McCarthyism and the breeding-ground of fascism. Here, too, new opportunities are arising. As the other levels of struggle develop and as the peace movement grows in scope, more and more the people will come to reject the Big Lie.

What is most essential for progressives to grasp here is that the general anti-McCarthy and pro-peace upsurge makes possible new, broader approaches to the struggle against the Smith Act prosecutions, against further indictments, for amnesty for Eugene Dennis, the General Secretary of the Communist Party, and for all political prisoners and political refugees. It makes possible similar approaches to the Right for repeal of the Smith Act, McCarran Act, the McCarran-Walter Act, and the fight to win back full legality for our Party.

As has been pointed out, McCarthy and McCarthyism have al-

ready become a central issue in the elections. As to the GOP, some months back their National Committee announced plans to use McCarthy as the star campaigner, under the slogan "The GOP needs both Ike and Joe." But McCarthy's position and influence have been so weakened that these plans have undergone considerable change.

A *Look* magazine survey published in May gave this result: 26 of 100 voters polled in March said they would be less inclined to vote for a candidate backed by McCarthy, 21 more inclined; in April the score was 46 to 17 against McCarthy. So it is that Ferguson now does not want McCarthy to come into Michigan; Case, the Republican Senatorial candidate of New Jersey, has taken a public stand against him.

The GOP primaries bear this out, especially in Illinois, where McCarthyism was a dominant issue. Thus the primary campaign against Velde cut his vote from 43,000 in the 1952 primary (his opponent polled 9,000) to 27,000 this year (as against 15,000 for his opponent). The result is to increase the possibilities that labor, farm and liberal forces defeat Velde in the finals. It is unfortunate, however, that the anti-McCarthy forces in Chicago did not get into the primary against Vail and failed to develop primary opposition to Busbey.

In other areas, several rabid McCarthyites were routed, including ex-Congressman Parnell Thomas in

New Jersey and Jones in Maine. Particularly important was the smashing defeat of the openly anti-Semitic Mc-Carthyite State Senator Jack Tenney of Los Angeles. But opportunities to develop struggles in Republican primaries against Clardy of Michigan, Scherer of Ohio, and others, were missed.

As to the Democratic Party, the national leaders do make McCarthyism-in-the-GOP a talking issue. However, the role of the Senate Democrats on the Brownell program and Lyndon Johnson's role on the Flanders resolution (and Stevenson's silence!) show that in actuality they sabotage the fight and at times openly join forces with McCarthyism. At the same time they appease it in the Democratic Party, as illustrated by Chairman Mitchell's call for the primary defeat of California Democratic Congressman Condon, target of McCarthyite attacks.

This helps explain why an outstanding weakness in the electoral struggle against McCarthyism, up to now, is *the failure to fight the McCarthyites in the Democratic primaries*. The most shocking example was the absence of primary opposition to Walter in Pennsylvania. But others can be cited in Ohio and in New Jersey.

The South stands out as the great exception, for there the Dixiecrat allies of the McCarthyites have taken some severe defeats. The victories of Sparkman and Folsom in Alabama,

and Kerr Scott in North Carolina—all supported by labor and the Negro people—stand out in sharp contrast with 1950, when the Dixiecrat offensive defeated Pepper and Frank Graham. And this is further confirmed by Kefauver's victory in Tennessee and by the July Texas primary in which Dixiecrat Governor Shivers was forced into a run-off. Clearly a new and growing anti-Dixiecrat movement is taking shape in the South.

It is likewise significant that labor and the Democrats in California renominated Condon despite Mitchell. Nor should it be ignored that—however inconsistently—certain ADA forces, the *New York Post*, Justice Douglas, Senator Lehman, Governor Meyner, press for more of a fight against the McCarthyites.

The primary results raise some new tactical problems for the anti-McCarthy forces. How, for example, to cope with a situation like that in Pennsylvania, where a large section of labor supported the Musmanno-picked candidate, McClelland, in the Democratic gubernatorial primary? McClelland, because of his anti-machine and pro-labor demagoguery, ran a close race with the liberal State Senator, Leader. Clearly, McClelland's large vote, despite Musmanno's support, must not be taken as a pro-Musmanno and pro-McCarthy vote. Rather, all labor, especially the steel workers and the coal miners, should unite to defeat GOP reaction in November.

A different problem has arisen in New Jersey. There the Republican Senatorial candidate, Case, has come out against McCarthy, and the labor-endorsed Democrat, Howell, has kept silent because of McCarthyite Democratic pressure. This has become a big national issue and poses a first rate crisis for New Jersey labor. The problem certainly cannot be resolved by embracing Case, whose opposition to McCarthy is coupled with support for Eisenhower's embracing of McCarthyism. The announcement that Dirksen, McCarthy's chief apologist in the Senate, will campaign for Case should make this clear. The need here is for mass pressure on Howell for a forthright fight against McCarthyism.

There is no doubt that as the fall primaries and November elections draw near the growing anti-McCarthy consciousness of the voters will create new opportunities to fight for an anti-McCarthy Congress, and to sharpen the struggle on this issue within both parties.

In this connection the New York primary (September 14) and final elections shape up as leading battlegrounds. Always of key national importance, these elections take on special meaning this year because of the powerful role played nationally by the pro-McCarthy Farley forces in the Democratic Party and the Dewey-Brownell group in the GOP. The labor and people's forces, having achieved some important vic-

stories against Dewey and Farley in '53, are pointing toward the bigger battle of '54.

What are the main electoral objectives of labor and the people in New York this year? They are: (1) to defeat Deweyism and the Dewey-Farley alliance by building a broad labor, farm and people's anti-Dewey coalition movement; (2) to change the composition of the New York Congressional delegation in a direction favorable to the struggle against McCarthyism and for peace, jobs and equal rights; (3) to expand the independent political action—and representation—of labor, the Negro people and the Puerto Rican people; and, progressives add, (4) to strengthen the ALP, as an essential factor in building the anti-Dewey coalition, through support of its activities on peace and other issues and of its campaign for its state ticket and other candidates.

The central objective is the defeat of Brownell's boss, Dewey. Is this possible?

The answer is yes. The growing opposition to the Eisenhower Administration is more than paralleled by the growing popular hostility to the Dewey State Administration. Dewey fathered the rent and fare steals. The state GOP scandals this year have further exposed the myth of honest, efficient administration. And Dewey's Hartford speech in December even went Brownell one better in the vulgarity of its embracing of McCarthyism.

It should be added that the first stage of the fight to defeat Dewey necessarily requires that labor and the people go into action to defeat the maneuvers of the Farley-McCarthyites in the Democratic Party and compel the Democratic Party to name a state ticket of a liberal, anti-McCarthy character. Such a ticket, as the State A. F. of L. has just proposed, would be very much strengthened by the inclusion of a trade unionist. It would likewise be strengthened by the inclusion of a Negro candidate.

The struggle against McCarthyism in the Democratic Party thus comes to the fore in a number of ways in the September primary and state convention. The persistent campaign to block the candidacy of FDR, Jr. is obviously of Farley-McCarthyite inspiration. The revolt within the Democratic Party against the Roe-Farley machine in Queens is precipitating a series of Congressional Democratic primary fights in which McCarthyism is the key issue. These battles, as well as a number of leadership fights in Brooklyn, point to increasing possibilities for labor and the anti-McCarthy Democrats to make further gains against the Farleyites.

In the nation as a whole, what then are the main tasks for the anti-McCarthy forces? First, to utilize the new opportunities to strengthen the anti-McCarthy mass movement in the course of the elections, taking into account the different levels of struggle.

Second, to press the struggle for an anti-McCarthy Congress around the issues of curbing and expelling McCarthy; rejecting the Brownell program; repealing the McCarran-Walter, Smith and McCarran Acts—as well as ending Smith Act prosecutions and securing amnesty for the victims of McCarthyism.

Third, to prepare to defeat in November the outstanding McCarthyites, Velde, Clardy, Kersten and others and to elect active anti-McCarthy fighters to Congress.

V. THE ANTI-DEPRESSION STRUGGLE

The anti-depression struggle is a fundamental mass issue in the '54 elections. Already in '53 economic questions—job and farm income—played a primary role in the striking GOP setbacks in the Wisconsin special election in October and the New Jersey, New York and Ohio elections in November. Today, after a full year of economic decline, these questions have become far more acute.

This is why the Eisenhower Administration is now bending every effort to convince labor and the people that the depression is over. The aim obviously is to eliminate or at least limit the impact of the economic issues on the elections.

But what is the real picture?

A general decline in industrial production, presaging the approach of an economic crisis, set in in the summer of 1953. Production currently

is some 10% below last year's peak, with the drop concentrated in such basic mass production industries as steel—now operating at 63% of capacity—and auto. The situation in the chronically depressed industries like textile and coal has been further aggravated. The jobless total some 5,000,000 (the faked official figures admit 3,400,000), with large numbers having already exhausted the meager unemployment benefits. Hundreds of thousands of auto, steel and other workers face the prospect of being permanently eliminated from industry.

The situation in industry coincides with the further development of the crisis in agriculture. Despite steadily increasing retail food prices, the prices received by farmers continue to decline and are now 18% below the level of 1951, as reported by the House Agricultural Committee, August 2. As a consequence, the poor and middle farmers generally face ruin.

It is true that the spring months saw a slowing of the decline in production—a development which the Administration is utilizing as the main basis for its depression-is-over propaganda. But this is a temporary situation and is due primarily to seasonal and other short-range factors. Every indication points to a renewal of the decline in the late summer and fall. Thus, the auto industry has just announced new protracted shut-downs under the pretext of model change-overs.

Even with the slowing of the decline, unemployment steadily worsens as speed-up increases and technical changes, like automation, are accelerated under the pressure of monopoly capital's drive for maximum profits. The big trusts, of course, are faring very well. In the face of a 10% drop in production, the big manufacturing corporations with assets of over \$100,000,000 show a 7% increase in profits for the first quarter of '54, as compared with a year ago.

It is the workers who carry the burden of the depression—loss of jobs, short weeks, speed-up, wage-cutting drives and new attacks on the basic rights to organize and strike. Negro workers feel the special effects of being the last to be hired and first to be fired. Women workers carry a heavy burden and the youth, lacking skill and seniority, face a critical situation.

The economic position of the people is further aggravated by the refusal of Eisenhower and the Big Business Congress to take any remedial steps. No positive action was taken on labor, welfare, housing, health, and similar legislation. What is more, the new "flexible" parity law will mean further cuts in the income of poor and middle farmers, thus intensifying the development of the farm crisis.

On the other hand, the new tax-steal passed this session provides further "relief" for the greedy instead of the needy. This comes on

top of last year's elimination of the excess profits tax, which enabled General Motors, DuPont, GE and the other big trusts to show such big increases in profits alongside of sharp cuts in payrolls and sales.

Underlying the record of Congress are the economic policies of the two old parties. The Administration and the GOP deny the existence of any real economic problem for the masses. They revive the Hoover "trickle-down" theory and seek to indict their Democratic critics as prophets of "gloom and doom."

The Democrats feature economic issues in their speeches and introduce numerous bills. But they do not make a serious fight in Congress for an anti-depression program. Tied as they are to the war policies, they do not oppose the huge war-budgets. On the contrary, they even call for increases, thus aggravating the whole economic problem. Hence, they too bear heavy responsibility for the deteriorating conditions of the great masses of the people.

Faced with the urgent problems of unemployment and the depression, labor and the farmers are expanding their economic and political action. Over the past period, the main labor centers have adopted anti-depression programs and organized a number of unemployment conferences and other actions. A new militancy is evident in the ranks of the workers. This is seen in the Dodge strike against speed-up, the lumber strike in the North-

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Labor and its allies are becoming more and more confirmed in their opposition to the economic policies of Eisenhower and the GOP, of the Billionaire Cabinet, of the give-away, take-away Congress and Administration. As a result, the anti-depression struggle has been and will continue to be a key factor in the '54 elections. It is this which largely accounts for the low GOP primary vote and contributes to the defeats suffered by the Dixiecrats in the Southern primaries.

However, there are certain important weaknesses in the way in which labor and its allies are approaching the economic issues in the elections. First, not enough is being done to combat the Eisenhower-Big Business propaganda that the "recession" is over. This propaganda is beginning to have some effect in retarding the development of labor's anti-depression activities. It must be refuted (as the national CIO and other unions are beginning to do) by making known the real facts on growing unemployment, on the chronically depressed industries, and on the new lay-offs in auto and steel, which have followed the brief spring pick-up.

Second, there is too little linking up of the strike struggles with legislative and political action. Where the tie-up is made both fronts of struggle are strengthened, as in the case of the police attack on the picket

line in the Park Drop Forge strike in Cleveland just before the May primaries.

Third, it is urgently necessary to overcome the serious weakness in the legislative activity of the labor and farm movements. The record shows that the Administration's tax steal and "flexible" parity bills could have been defeated—or at least amended—even in this Congress, had labor and the farmers intervened in a more energetic, mass way. The biggest obstacles have been the "wait-for-'54" theory—that is, that nothing can be done with this Congress—and the opposition to mass legislative action on the part of the reformist labor and farm leadership. This must now be corrected by making the record of Congress and the individual Congressmen on the anti-depression questions a major issue in November.

Finally, there is the continuing failure to relate the economic issues to the struggle for peace and against McCarthyism, to refute McCarthy's demagoguery on the farm question, to expose the McCarthyites and their anti-labor record, to advance the fight for peaceful negotiations and trade as an integral part of the anti-depression struggle.

As the Administration's promised fall pick-up fails to materialize, and the new damage done by Congress in its closing weeks becomes apparent, the resentment of labor, the Negro people and the farmers will grow. The whole fight on the eco-

conomic issues in the electoral field will sharpen.

What are the main tasks?

1. To make the economic record of Eisenhower and Congress a leading issue in the elections (as labor is already doing) and on this basis to involve the broadest masses in the election campaign.

2. To project as an immediate program of struggle, labor's anti-depression proposals. These include (a) the raising of purchasing power through wage increases, shorter work week with no reduction in pay; new tax legislation providing for \$1000 exemption instead of the present measly \$600; higher minimum wages; increased unemployment insurance benefits and Federal, State and Local FEPC; (b) a program of welfare—not warfare; Federal housing, health, education program; a broad network of public works; an end to the give-aways; (c) a farm program based on full parity with production payments to poor and middle farmers as a means of lowering consumer prices; (d) expanded world trade (including East-West trade) in a world at peace; (e) an end to McCarthyite Big Business attacks on the rights of labor and the people; repeal of Taft-Hartley.

3. To press all labor-endorsed candidates to champion such measures and make them leading features in their campaign. To guarantee that the electoral struggle will stimulate mass activities of all kinds around

the defense of the living standards of the people against Big Business.

VI. FOR NEGRO RIGHTS AND REPRESENTATION

The Supreme Court decision on segregation in education reflects the tremendous new growth in the Negro liberation movement. This victory likewise is due to the increased support of a broad section of the white population, particularly the labor movement. It is due further to the new growth of the colonial-liberation movements and their powerful impact upon the events in our country. It is due in no small part to the pioneering role of the Communists and the Left in the struggle for Negro rights.

The decision can give new strength to the Negro people and their main organizations, such as the NAACP. It opens up broad new possibilities in every phase of the struggle for Negro equality, for FEPC, and an end to segregation in housing, transportation and the like. It serves as a powerful stimulus to the fight for increased Negro representation in all levels of government.

What is necessary first and foremost is a struggle to implement the decision in the South, as well as in the North. The fruits of victory will not come without the most active, militant fight by the Negro people and their white allies.

At the same time, it is clear that

the GOP will try to exploit this decision as part of the Administration's demagogic campaign to make inroads among the Negro voters. This makes it all the more necessary to review the real position of the Administration and the GOP on the question of Negro equality. What are the facts?

To begin with, as the *Afro-American* pointed out editorially (July 9), the GOP controlled 83rd Congress scored zero on FEPC and other civil rights legislation, and this after their pledge of many years' standing, that once they took control from the Democrats they would enact a full civil rights program. Moreover, Eisenhower personally has come out against FEPC. He has hobnobbed with the most vicious anti-Negro Dixiecrat politicians like Shivers, made States Rights his official policy, and appointed Dixiecrat Byrnes as representative to the UN. Finally, as the NAACP and the American Jewish Congress have repeatedly pointed out, the growth of McCarthyism and attacks on civil liberties have seriously hampered the struggle for civil rights. Thus the policies of the Administration and the GOP are a most deadly menace to civil rights.

Meanwhile, Stevenson and the Democratic leadership have also betrayed the civil rights struggle in appeasement of the Dixiecrats. Obviously this plays into the hands of the Administration demagoguery. The result is to create the danger that a

wedge may be driven between the Negro people and the labor and liberal forces who are more and more uniting in opposition to the GOP.

The problem is further aggravated by the results of the spring primaries. The central feature is the contradiction between the great increase in Negro candidacies and representation movements, and the absence—prior to the Michigan primary of August 3—of any real break-through in the Democratic primaries.

This increase in candidacies follows the big gains made in the New York elections of 1953. It comes after many years of Communist initiative in boldly projecting Negro candidates and raising the need for Negro representation as a mass issue. Many other forces have taken up the fight. The ALP and PP are making signal contributions. The various non-partisan representation committees in Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant and other Negro communities are making this demand a major issue in the two old parties.

What do the 1954 primaries show?

In Ohio there was a record number of Negro candidates, including the first Negro candidate for a Democratic nomination to Congress, John Holly. After an active campaign he failed of nomination by 2,000 votes. All other Negro candidates in Cleveland in the Democratic primary also lost, including the lone legislative candidate endorsed by the machine. On the other

hand, the GOP named Negroes for Congress, for Judge and the State Senate.

Chicago, too, saw a number of new Negro candidacies for the Legislature, with a gain of one assured. Most, however, lost in the primaries. In Philadelphia, the Democrats again refused to name a Negro for Congress in the Fourth District, and the Negroes suffered a loss of two in the State Legislature as a result of re-districting. Meanwhile, the GOP named an active Negro candidate for Congress in the Philadelphia Fourth.

In California, some gains are likely in the State Legislature; but again, no Negro candidate for Congress was named from Los Angeles. Very significant, however, was the unprecedented naming, by the Democratic Party, of a candidate of Mexican origin, for Lieutenant-Governor. This shows what new possibilities exist.

The first major exception was Michigan, where State Senator Digges won a sweeping two-to-one victory in the Democratic Congressional primary. This opens up the fighting prospect for the election in November of the first additional Negro Congressman since 1946. The heightened political consciousness of the Negro people was shown in the fact that more than 50 Negro candidates filed in the primaries, as against 14 in 1952.

In Newark, too, an important victory was scored in the spring city

elections, with the election of the first Negro to the City Council, a victory made possible by the unity of the Negro people and the support of the labor movement. In Maryland, a Negro won the Democratic nomination to the State Legislature.

Some very striking victories were recorded in the South—with a number of new "firsts," for City Council posts (North Carolina and Louisiana), also Democratic Committee positions (Alabama).

The overall picture is one of many new Negro candidacies. There is, however, no general breakthrough in the Democratic primaries—as contrasted with the GOP gestures of naming Negro candidates for Congress in the safe Democratic districts (Cleveland and Philadelphia). All of this further sharpens the problems of Republican demagoguery, and increases the strain in the Negro-labor alliance.

Why no breakthrough in the Democratic Party primaries? The basic answer is not only that the Democrats do not slate Negro candidates. In Cleveland, Holly could have won without machine support if labor as a whole had taken up his campaign. The point is that labor and the liberal forces are tailing behind the Democratic Party, instead of bringing independent pressure upon it. Therefore, the central problem today that must be solved is the winning of labor and liberal support for Negro representation, and for the whole struggle for Negro rights

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Such support is in the best interests of the white workers.

In fighting to achieve this support, it is necessary to solve some immediate tactical problems. These arise most sharply where the Democrats have named white labor-supported candidates, and the GOP has named Negro candidates (as in Cleveland and Philadelphia).

Two tendencies must be combated here. The first is simply to accept the Democratic candidate on the partisan and Right-opportunist concepts that any Democrat is preferable to any Republican. This strengthens the Democratic Party policy of ignoring the Negro people and plays into the hands of the GOP demagoguery, designed to split the Negro people from labor. The second is simply to accept Negro candidates irrespective of the character and program of the candidate, thus contributing to a conflict between the labor-liberal forces and the Negro movement. This, too, plays into the hands of the GOP.

What is essential here is that the labor-liberal forces be convinced to demand *now* that the Democratic Party (and the GOP) champion the issues of Negro rights in the campaign; make substitute nominations of Negro candidates, where still possible; make specific commitments for future elections and appointments; and accord the Negro people a major role in campaign committees and organizations.

Final electoral decisions can be

based on this type of struggle, as well as on an examination of the character of the candidates and the relation of the individual campaign to the whole state picture. In the remaining primaries (especially New York) representation movements will do well to concentrate—in addition to the fight for unity in the Negro community—on getting labor to demand Democratic Party support for increased Negro candidates, and to enter into primary fights where necessary.

The Supreme Court decision has opened up new possibilities in the fight for representation. It is more than ever possible to win broad support of white voters and to develop representation movements beyond the present tendency to confine them to Negro majority areas. The election of Dr. Clement in Atlanta, Ga., in 1953 to the School Board, already proved this.

In particular, it is possible today to make an effective fight to win labor support. Thus, the Detroit PAC, while it did not endorse Digges, the Negro Congressional candidate, did withhold support from the incumbent O'Brien for the first time. This was a key factor in the Digges victory.

Further, the pivotal role of the Negro vote in the key Negro population centers—New York, California, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan and New Jersey—should make the Democratic Party more amenable to pressure.

The main tasks, therefore, are: (1) To make the question of Negro rights (FEPC, non-discriminatory housing, outlawing of all restrictions on voting) a central issue in the elections as an essential aspect of the whole struggle against McCarthyism-Dixiecratism and for peace; (2) to build non-partisan Negro unity for increased representation and registration, combatting sectarian rejection of the all-class character of these movements and of the role of the main Negro people's organizations; (3) to strengthen Negro-labor unity by stimulating labor's initiative on issues and candidates, especially in relation to the labor-influenced sectors of the Democratic Party; (4) to win new victories for Negro representation in the fall primaries and the November elections—and thus lay the basis for new advances in '55 and '56.

VII. THE INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION OF LABOR AND ITS ALLIES

The American labor movement in this election year is experiencing a rebirth of activity. Not since the days of the New Deal has so much stress been placed upon political action.

The initial illusions in Eisenhower, which some sections of labor entertained, have been pretty much destroyed by the anti-labor record of the Administration. This was symbolized by the Durkin resignation last fall. It is expressed in the Ad-

ministration's attempt further to worsen the Taft-Hartley Act, as well as in Brownell's demand that the McCarran Internal Security Act be extended to cover trade unions.

Faced with unemployment, wage-cutting drives and an openly hostile Administration, labor is expanding its activities. Unemployment conferences have been held by UAW, by CIO, by main state and city bodies, anti-depression programs advanced, and demands placed before city, state and federal governments. The Lewis-Beck-McDonald meeting likewise featured the job issue.

While some wage-cuts have been imposed, as in Studebaker, labor is engaged in many bitter struggles to maintain and increase wages (lumber, rubber). The steel workers won wage increases and today the auto workers are already preparing for the expiration of the five-year GM contract in 1955.

Labor succeeded in fighting off the Administration's plan to toughen the Taft-Hartley Act. A sharp stand against McCarthyism was taken by the UAW, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Packing, Railroad and other unions.

Particularly noteworthy is the new activity in the field of independent organization for political action. The LLPE has held regional conferences and local meetings, set up staffs and local committees. The PAC is conducting similar activities. Everywhere reports indicate the best response in years to the dollar drives

The labor press and conventions are full of political action material. Active preparations are under way for November.

The political action arms of the CIO and A. F. of L., however, are, for the most part, acting only along parallel lines. What is needed is united political action. This is still the exception, as in some Wisconsin cities and a few states. Conditions for achieving this are becoming more favorable, as is shown by the signing of the A. F. of L.-C.I.O. no-raiding pact. Is this not the time for labor to carry this unity into the political field? The Lewis-McDonald-Beck agreement holds forth such possibilities for these three big unions in such states as Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia.

Labor is beginning to give more attention to its allies. First, the C.I.O. and A. F. of L., as well as the independent unions, have given increased support to the farmers in the fight on farm legislation. This resulted in the pro-parity vote in Congress last month of a bloc of big city Democrats, led by FDR, Jr. The UAW is developing an extensive program of farmer-labor cooperation in Michigan. Joint farmer-labor political action, which featured the Wisconsin special election last October, is being developed in a number of areas. But much more initiative on the part of labor is necessary.

As indicated above, labor's approach to the political struggles of the Negro people is still very inade-

quate. Trade unions, especially in steel and auto, are increasingly taking part in fights for local and state FEPCs—as well as for FEPC contract clauses and against discrimination on the job. But for the most part this has not yet carried over into the fight against discrimination in the holding of public office.

There has been a notable emphasis by the LLPE on political activity among women voters in and out of the unions. Both the LLPE and the PAC have set up special women's divisions with National Women's Directors. Such special programs stressing the issues of jobs, UMT and the 18-year vote are very much needed, as well, among young voters.

With all this expansion in labor political action, the early primaries nevertheless indicate a very uneven situation as to the quality and content of this activity. This becomes clear when we ask the fundamental question: to what extent is labor emerging as a distinct political force? To what extent is labor advancing its independent position—and this is the key to political independence—on the vital issues of peace, McCarthyism and the like? To what extent is labor carrying out the fine political action resolution of the '53 UAW convention, which outlined many steps to greater political independence?

The answer is: very little indeed. And it is this failure which poses the most serious challenge to progressive trade-unionists in this year's

elections. In Chicago, for example, labor sat out the primaries. Because labor exerted no independent pressure there were no Democratic primary contests. A political hack like Bowler was again permitted to occupy the seat once held by the well-known liberal, the late Congressman Sabath. The role of labor was geared simply to the endorsement of the Democratic ticket and, therefore, to the November elections. One of the consequences was the absence of any labor candidate. Prospects, however, do point to an active campaign against the reactionary GOP Congressmen in the finals.

New Jersey labor, especially the PAC, exerted some influence upon Democratic slate-making for the Senate and many Congressional races. This involved a struggle against pro-McCarthy forces in the Democratic Party. And Newark this spring provided an outstanding example of labor participation with its allies in city elections.

In Ohio, as in Illinois, labor had in the past played primarily an endorsing role. This time, under the pressure of local union activities, the city PAC broke precedent by endorsing only part of the Democratic Party's slate (with its one C.I.O. member in a list of 21). This made it possible for a number of local unions and individual trade unionists, representing important auto and other shops, to form a coalition for the support, in the Democratic

primary, of a bloc of labor candidates—including two Negro trade unionists and an independent anti-machine A. F. of L. member, running for State Senate. This activity ensured the nomination of the A. F. of L. candidate and the slate C.I.O. member, and stimulated a more independent labor outlook in political action. This was further strengthened by a conference of Negro trade unionists.

In Pennsylvania labor was active in the Democratic gubernatorial primary, but it was divided. In the East labor tended to go along with the successful Democratic State Committee-endorsed candidate, Leader. The Steel Union leadership in Western Pennsylvania, however, refused to accept Leader, arguing that the Democratic machine had not consulted labor. This by itself is a very correct position—but where did it lead? Labor in Western Pennsylvania wound up supporting McClelland, the Musmanno candidate! Since the steel leadership adopts this position of independence, would it not be correct to ask that they show this independence on issues, by rejecting Musmanno, McCarthyism and uniting to defeat GOP reaction?

In California, the top level L.L.P.E. deal to endorse the reactionary incumbent, Governor Knight, set off a mass revolt. Large numbers of locals and State bodies of the A. F. of L. united to support the Democratic Party Graves-Roybal

ticket. This movement is continuing to grow after the primaries.

The primaries in general showed a serious lag in labor representation at the Congressional level. At the local level, however, there was some increase in trade-union candidates. This is true of Ohio, downstate Illinois, Indiana, New Jersey, among others. The request made last week by New York labor that the Democrats name an A. P. of L. man for Lieutenant-Governor is a new development which shows the potential power and scope of the fight for increased labor representation.

In regard to labor representation, it should be added that as trade-unionists are elected to office, new problems of course arise. Some successful labor candidates seem to think that once elected they should dissociate themselves from labor, as if there could be a conflict between the interests of labor and the interests of the people generally. This, of course, is false. On the contrary, labor should strengthen its ties with unionists elected to office and help them develop programs in the interests of labor and the people.

To sum up, while labor is greatly expanding its political action, its intervention in the primaries remains limited. First, it tends to accept whatever Democratic candidates are put forward by the machine. Secondly, it ignores the Republican primaries, because of its ties with the Democrats. This is a very shortsighted policy indeed. The Velde primary,

for example, shows that if labor had really moved into the GOP primary, this outstanding McCarthyite could have been defeated.

However, there are increasing instances where labor is beginning to intervene. Some rich experience is accumulating as to various partial steps toward greater independence (Ohio). There is growing resistance to top deals with reactionary politicians (California).

Another major weakness is the virtual absence (except for the work of some of the independent unions) of consistent year-round mass legislative struggles on Congressional issues. Without this, electoral work lacks a firm foundation and tends to lose real content. The absence of mass labor legislative action was particularly felt in the closing weeks of Congress.

Likewise, unity of labor in the political field still remains to be achieved nationally and in most areas. More, too, is needed with regard to labor's approach to its allies. In particular, there is a need for a basic strengthening of labor's relation to the struggle for Negro representation. It is necessary to extend the important beginnings of support to the farmers and farmer-labor joint political action. The important L.L.P.E. women's program should be aided, and similar activities projected for the young voters.

Further, much of labor's political work is based on a plan of concentrating on the margin or 5% dis-

tracts. While concentration is a good thing, it is obvious that the mechanical 5% rule leaves out of account the key questions of policy and a program of defeating outstanding McCarthyites, warmongers, and labor-haters.

Finally, with labor increasingly in opposition to the Administration and the GOP, the outlook for November (and the remaining primaries) is for a big increase in labor's political action. In this context the opportunities to help give an increasingly independent quality to this action will multiply.

The situation requires that every progressive trade unionist, as a good unionist, make a maximum contribution to political action in the C.I.O. and A. F. of L., as well as in the independent unions, whose example exerts considerable influence. The main tasks are:

First, to help build and strengthen the political arms of labor, the L.L.P.E., P.A.C., and the political and legislative committees of independent unions of all types. True, there are many obstacles. Some unions do not have political action committees or are not affiliated to the political action centers. Often officials discourage committee activity. But progressive unionists will find ways to overcome these obstacles and take an active part in all the immediate activities, such as the dollar drive, registration campaigns, and other preparations for November.

Second, labor's political action

should be given real content, placing heavy stress on the record of Congress and the candidates on the main issues.

Third, labor needs to take a more independent position in relation to the Democratic Party and to develop closer relationships with its allies through Congressional district activities, conferences, etc. It should exert more influence upon the issues and candidates in the remaining primaries and in November.

Despite the uneven situation, labor is making major strides forward in its political action. To achieve the labor and people's objective in November as regards changing the composition of Congress, it is necessary that all progressive-minded trade unionists make labor's political action their number one concern. It is through these legislative and electoral activities in close relation with labor's struggles on the economic front that labor will increasingly emerge as a distinct political force even within the two-party system, and prepare itself for the greater battles of 1955 and 1956.

VIII. THE ADVANCED ELECTORAL MOVEMENTS

The record to date in 1954 indicates a most serious underestimation of the role of the advanced electoral movements, tending in fact towards their liquidation. The fact is that outside of New York and California, where the ALP and IPP carry con-

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siderable weight, there are practically no independent or Progressive Party candidates.¹

An exception is Pennsylvania, where some 13,000 signatures were collected in 20 days to qualify a PP state ticket—a really outstanding achievement. But in New Jersey, despite the nominal requirements, no state candidate was filed, and similarly in states where requirements are difficult. The result is that in many instances the voter in November will have only a choice between outright reactionaries—that is, no choice.

The '54 elections continue a tendency already evident in 1953. It is therefore necessary to examine the reasons. There can be no doubt that the Left forces have yet to overcome certain distortions of the National Committee Resolution on the 1952 elections. The absolutely correct and necessary call to direct main attention to the mainstream was taken by some to mean dropping support to the advanced electoral and other organizations; the call to avoid rigid third party attitudes to mean the abandonment of third party forces and independent candidacies.

It is necessary to establish clarity as to our attitude to these organizations.

1. To begin with it is recognized

1. A most grievous blow to the cause of advanced independent political action was the untimely death of Vito Marcantonio, people's fighter for peace and democracy. The announcement of his independent candidacy for Congress had evoked tremendous enthusiasm. The campaign would have been the leading expression in the nation of advanced electoral action.

in words—if not always in deeds—that the existing P.P. organizations can play an important role in projecting issues, especially the peace issue, in the political arena. Likewise they can be of great service in advancing the concept of a political realignment, led by labor, based on the further unfolding of labor's struggle within and without the two-party system.

2. What is obviously not recognized is that the electoral role of these bodies can and must be strengthened. This means fighting for and achieving certain coalition relationships; and this, in turn, means among other things advancing their own or independent candidates, where this is in the interests of the overall struggle for peace and democracy. It is only through a strengthened independent existence that such movements can exert influence upon the mainstream of politics.

3. What is needed today, therefore, is a clear affirmation of the proposition that electoral victories for labor and the people require three essential interdependent elements: 1) unity for the defeat of the main warmongering candidates of McCarthyism and reaction; 2) the expansion of the independent political action of labor and its allies; 3) the growing independent electoral influence of the advanced forces, the ALP, IPP and the P.P.

The ALP and IPP are the two main advanced third party state or-

ganizations, and their role is particularly important. For some time, two wrong tendencies have existed in and around these parties.

The first is the "go-it-alone" position. The "new" argument offered this year is specifically directed against the whole idea of anti-McCarthy coalition. It says that peace is the only issue, that both major parties are war parties—and that both are equally parties of McCarthyism—that therefore the only correct policy is to call down a plague on both parties and their candidates and run a full ALP slate for all offices. Leaving aside the mechanical counterposing of the peace and anti-McCarthy struggles (which was dealt with above) this argument totally ignores the present level of labor's political action, its ties with the two-party system, especially the Democratic Party, and the role of the GOP as the preferred party of Big Business. It thus cuts off the advanced electoral movements from any contact with labor and its allies and any opportunity to influence their political action in the direction of greater independence. This is a sectarian petty-bourgeois position which from the "Left" abandons the decisive struggle to unite labor and its allies to bar the road to war and McCarthyism.

The second is the position of *liquidation*. The "new" argument here says correctly that it is necessary to work with labor at its present level of political action and to take into

account its present ties to the two-party system. But from this it draws a wrong conclusion, that the advanced or independent electoral movement should be given up. This wrong conclusion is based on the mistaken idea that the advanced movement necessarily collides with, and is an obstacle to the development of labor's political action at its present level. This is an opportunist position which from the *Right* surrenders the struggle for labor's greater political independence. An advanced electoral movement, provided it bases itself on a proper coalition approach, is an indispensable factor in the fight to advance labor's political action.

What do these two apparently opposite viewpoints have in common? Both agree in leaving labor and its allies to the mercies of the two-party system. Further, one tendency feeds the other. The go-it-alone position collides with the obvious need for coalition and thus feeds the liquidationist attitude. The latter plays into the hands of the former. In particular, the liquidationist attitude plays into the hands of Trotskyites and near-Trotskyite agents who, under cover of "Left" phrases, seek to prevent any united struggle against war and fascism.

As a consequence, there is a very real danger today that if more adequate support is not given to the state ticket and main campaigns of the ALP, it will become simply a battleground between these two

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tendencies. The result would be to weaken this organization to the point where it could no longer play a significant role. In such an eventuality, independent political action in New York and the nation would suffer a very grave setback.

It is well that the ALP, in its electoral policy, has rejected any go-it-alone full-ticket-for-all-offices approach. At the same time it has correctly decided to enter a gubernatorial ticket. And in this the ALP should receive full support.

Is this support based primarily on the need to run a gubernatorial candidate to maintain the ALP's position as a legally recognized party? There can be no doubt that this is a very important consideration.

But the key reason is the great contribution which the ALP gubernatorial campaign will make to the fight for peace and against McCarthyism; for jobs and for Negro rights and representation. It is the new strength which it will bring to the labor, farm and people's coalition by registering publicly the growing independent power and influence of the advanced forces.

There are some who oppose the ALP decision to run a gubernatorial ticket on the ground that this might endanger the defeat of Dewey. They argue that the race will be close, that the ALP vote may be the margin, and that the ALP may be held responsible for the failure to defeat Dewey. But isn't it clear that the hard-hitting ALP gubernatorial cam-

paign, centering its main fire on Dewey and his embracing of McCarthyism, will make a contribution which no other anti-Dewey force will make? Will it not, while rallying the maximum vote for the ALP, at the same time set masses in motion against Dewey far beyond those who are now prepared to vote ALP? The ALP gubernatorial campaign is therefore needed for a victory over Dewey, and its independent vote is necessary to help assure that the victory will have positive results in the new Administration.

From all this it is clear that what is essential is *immediate* mobilization of support to the ALP gubernatorial campaign as a vital fact in the whole struggle against the Dewey-Farley camp.

To sum up, it should be re-emphasized that the new opportunities now arising in *every* field of struggle also include new opportunities to strengthen the role of the advanced electoral bodies in the November elections. It would be most strange if this were not the case. For there is taking place today a certain unfreezing of political relationships. This process should not be overestimated and sectarian errors should be avoided. But the main point is that more and more trade-union and political forces are beginning to speak to and, to some degree, cooperate with, the advanced forces. Experience in the states and nationally show this. All the more therefore is it necessary for the Left as part of

its overall contribution to the elections to take immediate steps—*without falling back into the sectarian errors of the past*—to mobilize energetic support for the candidates and campaigns of the ALP in New York, the IPP in California, the PP in Pennsylvania and other states.

IX. THE PARTY AND THE ELECTIONS

The central aim of this conference is to strengthen our Communist contribution to the struggle against war, depression and McCarthyism in the November elections.

This requires our most active support to the mounting struggles and election activities of the broad masses of labor, the Negro people, the farmers, the women and the youth.

This conference should record that many of our state organizations are making real progress towards overcoming their isolation from the main political currents. They are becoming more acquainted with the mass developments and are beginning to influence the course of events. This must be continued and *accelerated*, for too often we still lag behind the pace of events.

Here, however, I want to confine my remarks to the question of strengthening our *independent* Communist contribution to the elections. How is this to be done?

First, by the distribution and utilization of the Party program. The appearance of this program, its dis-

tribution already in over 650,000 copies, is an outstanding achievement. It is the best expression in years of the independent role of our Party. While this program has meaning far beyond the period of the November elections, it is a major contribution to the clarification of election issues and tactics. This conference should pledge to increase the distribution to a total of one million copies.

We note, too, the excellent electoral program and materials published by many of the state Party organizations such as Illinois, Connecticut and Massachusetts.

Second, this conference welcomes and greets the candidacy of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a member of the National Committee of our Party, for Congress in New York. We likewise greet the candidacy of Charles Nusser and Bert Salwen in New Jersey. We call upon all districts to examine the possibility of other Communist candidates. Severely limited as we are by attacks on our electoral rights, these candidates take on enormous importance in bringing our Communist thinking and program to the masses in the November elections.

Now I want to deal with what our National Committee considers the central task today in projecting the independent role of the Left in the elections. That is, the question of building the circulation of the Marxist press. We must state quite frankly that the press faces a most critical situation. The circulation of *The Worker* and *Daily Worker* is at an

all time low.

Why is this? Is it simply objective difficulties? True, there are objective difficulties. But these exist as much in California, Illinois, Brooklyn and Connecticut as elsewhere—and yet these areas have done outstanding work in press circulation in the recent period.

Is it a general underestimation of the role of the press? This, too, is true and is of long standing. But there is something more than that to be said—and said bluntly.

The key reason for the present critical situation is capitulation to the attack of the enemy. We must understand that liquidationism expresses itself not only in the form of Browderism. It also expresses itself in the form of capitulation.

A year ago the National Party Conference called this situation sharply to the attention of the Party. Today we must insist that the Party leadership organize a veritable crusade throughout the Party for year-round building of press circulation in connection with every aspect of mass struggle.

The time to begin is *now* with the election campaign. As a minimum every District should place orders for special bundles and provide local election material to appear in the press.

The responsibility for circulation must be taken by the entire Party organization. The Freedom of the Press Association has played, and continues to play, an important role.

However, an unfortunate by-product has been the giving up of the concept that the Party as a whole must assume responsibility. This concept must be re-established, beginning with the National and District Committees, and on through every Party Region, Section and Club.

We must emerge from this election campaign with circulation increases that will remain as permanent gains for the Marxist press.

We are not today opening up a special discussion on Party organization. If we were to do so we would have to state that the number one task is helping to extend the influence and build the circulation of the Marxist press. This is the means of ensuring that not only active and leading individuals are able to contribute to the electoral fight, but that the whole Party organization is helped to find its role.

Finally, the period of the elections is particularly suitable to expanding the struggle for the full legality of our Party. New opportunities are arising to bring to the masses the meaning of the struggle against McCarthyism and the Brownell program; to repeal the Smith Act and McCarran Act; to end the Smith Act prosecutions and win amnesty for Gene Dennis and all those convicted with him, Gus Hall, Ben Davis, Johnny Gates, Johnny Williamson, Bob Thompson, Jack Stachel, Carl Winter, Irving Potash, Sid Stein, as well as for the political refugees, Henry Winston, Gil Green, Fred

Fine, James Jackson and Bill Norman.

We must say self-critically that we have not undertaken a really serious fight for amnesty. There will be a special report on this question, and the report and discussion must establish guarantees for a drastic change in our approach to this vital struggle.

A few words in conclusion. Our Party in this period has been under severe attack. It has withstood these attacks, and stands today united in political action and organization.

As we now enter the final phase of

the crucial '54 elections, we must see to it that every Party member and every Party club makes a maximum contribution to the central task in the '54 elections, to change the composition of the present Congress, thus preparing the way for a new Administration in 1956.

For the masses are moving forward. And our Party, with full confidence, and in the spirit of our Program, must move forward with them and help give them unity and leadership in the struggle to bar the road to war and McCarthyism.

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The Communist Program—a Vital Document*

By Betty Gannett

INTRODUCTORY

The Program of our Party was universally acclaimed by our membership and leading committees. Our membership recognized the profound significance and vital timeliness of the program. It welcomed its penetrating analysis of the course of events in our country, the correct path it charted to block the road to fascism and war, and its inspiring call for unity in action, as the path of salvation for our class and our people.

The fact that our Party, under conditions of increasing persecution and harassment by pro-fascist reaction, was able to issue this program, is in itself evidence that the ruling class has not succeeded in its objective of destroying our Party, of rendering it prostrate before the blows of the enemy.

The reactionary ruling circles, which today are in direct command of our government, hoped to behead our Party by jailing the National Committee, by arresting over a hundred other Communist leaders and working-class fighters. But our program is testimony to our Party's virility, to the vitality of the principle of collective leadership, to the

strength of inner-Party democracy, which has made it possible to register the collective will and opinions of our membership in a program which expresses the most cherished aspirations of the people.

The reactionary ruling circles hoped by their network of FBI police agents and paid informers to undermine the inner unity of our Party, to shake confidence in the leadership, to create dissension and cause disruption. But our program proves they have not succeeded. What is emerging instead is the growing ideological, political and organizational unity of our Party, marked by renewed confidence and enthusiasm in the correctness of its line and policies. It is this unity of the Party which we must, at all times, guard and cherish.

It is a tribute to our Party, to every club and member, that despite the anti-Communist hysteria, 650,000 copies of the Draft Program were distributed throughout the length and breadth of the land.

The distribution of our Draft Program was not "limited to Communist Party members and trusted sympathizers," as the *Chicago Tribune* said. On the contrary, it was mailed to scores of thousands—to public figures, trade unionists, leaders of farmers' organizations and of the Negro

* Report on the Discussion of the Draft Program—partial text.

people's movement; to professors, lawyers, and social workers; to columnists, radio and TV commentators; to student and youth leaders—to as broad a public list as possible. The Draft Program was distributed at auto, steel, electrical and other factories; at union halls and union conventions; in working-class communities, and in housing projects. We reached a cross section of the American people, in order that they might learn for themselves how we Communists view the issues and tasks confronting our people today.

We heartily congratulate our membership on the achievement of this major, yes, magnificent task. This was an undertaking which but a year or two ago would have been deemed impossible by all of us. And if Mr. Mark Starr, the Educational Director of the ILGWU, in his letter to the *New York Post*, says that the distribution of our program "proves that the C.P. may be down but not out," let me add that it proves we are *neither down nor out*.

The discussion around the Program, in our own ranks, was slow in getting under way. This was due largely to the very unsatisfactory manner in which the Program was announced and published, and to the fact that our leading comrades, nationally first of all, but also in the states, did not immediately set an example by writing and speaking on the central ideas set forth in the Program.

However, there has been in most

states a very rich discussion. This discussion revealed the unanimity of the Party around the main tactical and strategic objectives of the Program. Many ideas for improvement and changes were proposed. The Program Committee studied all these recommendations most carefully and incorporated many of them in the final text. The Program as now formulated has been approved by all members of the National Committee and is now before you for ratification.

In this report we want to deal with a number of questions which arose in the discussion around which some unclarity was revealed. We also want to explain why certain changes were made, as well as to emphasize some questions which did not receive sufficient consideration in our discussion.

ON MEETING THE MENACE OF FASCISM

What is the purpose of our Program? It is a Program which outlines the necessary steps that must be undertaken today and in the period ahead to forge maximum unity for the defeat of the threat of war and fascism. It is a limited program for a given historical period.

Our Program is not an electoral program for '54 and '56, although it must and will play an important role in influencing the outcome of the '54 and '56 elections. To see it simply as an electoral program is to miss its essential significance. For what the Program presents is a tactical and

strategic line for an entire historic period—a line which has for its objective to bar and defeat the threat of fascism and war and thus clear the path for the advance to socialism.

There are some comrades who say that what we need today is not a program for jobs, peace, equal rights and democracy, but a program for peace and socialism. They argue: When we speak about peace and jobs, or when we urge unity of the people against McCarthy, we say only what the workers hear from every party. We are forgetting, they insist, our greatest asset, our main aim: "to win the American working class for the idea of discarding capitalism and inaugurating a socialist system in the United States. That is our aim today, now and at all times, 'not ultimately.'"

Needless to say, Communists do not just repeat what every other party is saying on the immediate political and economic issues of the day. The distinguishing feature of the Communist Party is not only the propagation of socialist ideas, a task which our Party certainly must carry out in the course of all of its activities. However, because it is the Party of socialism, seeing the full historic course of the workers' struggles, it is able to provide the most effective leadership on the day-to-day issues, enhancing the unity, militancy and consciousness of the working class in their struggles.

But more significant, those comrades see as the immediate task to-

day the struggle for socialism and not the struggle against fascism. Thus, these comrades minimize the concrete fascist danger. They fail to understand that the victory of fascism is the victory of counter-revolution and spells defeat (although only temporarily) for the working-class aim of socialism.

Sixteen years ago Comrades Eugene Dennis and Gil Green wrote "Notes on Defense of Democracy." This article stands up today, all the more because the peril of fascism is so much greater. After showing why monopoly capitalism discards democracy and substitutes for it the open, violent form of rule—fascism—Comrades Dennis and Green asked the question: Can the working class disregard the struggle to preserve democracy and prevent the rise of fascism?

"To ignore this struggle," they said, "to permit reaction to accomplish its counter-revolutionary objective is to ensure the victory of fascism and the destruction of the whole labor and progressive movement. In short, *it is to betray not only democracy, but the struggle for socialism as well.*"

Their warning to the working class then is a thousand times more timely today. The task of defeating fascism, defending and extending bourgeois democracy is not a "tactic" or a "maneuver" in order to win new supporters among the workers and the people generally. It is a crucial struggle which must be waged wherever the fascist danger rears its head.

It is a prerequisite, under the conditions of our times, to the advance to socialism—a stage of struggle that cannot be skipped over.

With the rise of imperialism the ruling class increasingly discards the bourgeois democracy of its ascendant stage and resorts to openly violent forms of rule. Today finance capital is through and through anti-democratic and reactionary, in the political as well as in the economic sphere. This course of reaction all along the line becomes intensified in the period of the general crisis of capitalism into the drive to fascism.

We Communists have always pointed out that bourgeois democracy, even in the most democratic capitalist countries, cannot but be limited, restricted, one-sided. But bourgeois democracy, precarious and limited as it may be, enables the working class to organize its ranks, mobilize its forces, become conscious of its own class interests.

Fascism, it must be remembered, means not only the curbing of democratic rights, but their destruction. Fascism means not only attacks on the working class, their right to organize and strike, but the destruction of the working-class organizations and the elimination of all rights won in decades of struggle. Fascism means, not only restricting the activity of the Communist Party, but its violent outlawry, the imprisonment and murder of all vanguard fighters. Fascism means not only the old divide-and-conquer policy of set-

ting white against Negro, but an intensified racist attack of genocidal proportions against colored peoples abroad and at home; it means rabid anti-Semitism and violence against all minorities. Fascism means not only regimentation of science, art and culture to serve the interests of the ruling class, but annihilation of culture, of art, of scientific achievement.

To bar the road to fascism, to defeat fascism, is a struggle for the very survival of the working class and its organizations. That is why the working class, the most decisive class in present-day society, must become the unifying and leading force of the whole people to resist the fascist offensive. There is no other road to socialism except through the struggle for democracy.

Clearly, we have still to master the full significance of the memorable words of Joseph Stalin at the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, when he said:

"Formerly the bourgeoisie permitted itself to be liberal, championed bourgeois-democratic freedom and in doing so created for itself popularity among the people. Now, not even a trace of liberalism remains. . . . The banner of the bourgeois-democratic freedoms has been thrown overboard. I think that you, representatives of the Communist and Democratic Parties, will have to pick up this banner and carry it forward if you wish to rally around yourselves the majority of the people. There is no one else to pick it up."

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If it is true, as we Communists well know, that American imperialism has today become the center of world reaction, that it is the men of Wall Street who have revived and encouraged the fascist scum in others parts of the world and now strive to impose fascism on our own land, then we must understand that the task of checking and defeating this new threat of fascism is a prime task of great national and international significance. For the victory of fascism at home would enormously intensify the danger of World War III, and would thus have grave international repercussions.

Therefore, to underestimate the menace of fascism and its chance for victory in our country would be a most serious error. It is indisputable that fascism has made dangerous headway in our country. The Eisenhower Administration as the government in power (and the Truman Administration before it) has been responsible for the adoption of one pro-fascist measure after another. This has already drastically undermined the democratic processes, accelerated the whole tempo of the fascistization of the state apparatus, and has led to the menacing growth of McCarthyism, the American brand of fascism. In the words of our Program:

"The gradual whittling away of our basic democratic liberties is not some post-war madness which will pass of itself. It represents an ominous and

monstrous trend toward a full-fledged police-state and fascism. The McCarthy and McCarrans are not merely publicity-seeking demagogues. They are the conscious creatures of powerful ultra-reactionary monopoly interests. McCarthyism is the ugly face of American Hitlerism, American fascism."

At the same time, our Program vigorously combats the fatalist and defeatist concept that all is lost, that, in fact, fascism has already engulfed our land. For fascism is not inevitable. The people of our country can avoid the disaster of fascism, as the lessons of the rise of Hitlerism have taught, if they fight every inch of the way against any and every fascist encroachment on our democratic rights and democratic institutions. That is why every defeat administered to McCarthy today objectively helps the fight against fascism, although McCarthy's loss of prestige is by no means synonymous with the defeat of McCarthyism. The powerful upsurge against McCarthyism, marking a great advance in the struggle to check the fascist menace, has tremendous vitality. But if McCarthyism is to be defeated, the resistance movement has to become united and organized, and labor in the first place must come forward as the decisive driving force, assuming more and more a leading role. The disaster of fascism can be avoided if the people reject the Big Lie, McCarthy's weapon of divide and conquer, which causes the

disunity and division on which McCarthyism feeds.

It is necessary to understand that if we work tirelessly, energetically and above all correctly, organizing the working class on their present level of consciousness and militancy, there is a way out, and McCarthyism—fascism—can receive its death blow. In the words of the program, "The rising tide of struggle against McCarthyism is evidence that the people can defeat this evil threat and maintain our cherished democratic liberties."

THE PEOPLE CAN IMPOSE THEIR WILL TO PEACE

Considerable discussion took place in our ranks on the section dealing with *The Crisis in U.S. Foreign Policy*. The rapidity with which events followed one another, since the draft of the program was published, itself made necessary certain additions in this section. New developments had to be evaluated: increased awareness of the horror of H-bomb warfare; the opposition to the Eisenhower-Dulles-Nixon plot to send troops to Indo-China; the U.S.-instigated overthrow of the democratic government of Guatemala, and the ending of the colonial war in Indo-China, which further eased world tensions and opened up increasing possibilities for imposing humanity's will for peace upon the war-makers.

As a result of the significant vic-

tories scored by the world peace camp, and the devastating defeats suffered by U.S. imperialism, some comrades concluded that the easing of world tension already denotes a turning point in world relations. They maintain that the people's will to peace has already been imposed on the U.S. imperialists, and that as a result the Eisenhower Administration has accepted the inevitable and embarked on the path of peaceful negotiations.

One comrade in the discussion said that while Wall Street needs the war hysteria to maintain its production, it is in fact fearful of and really does not seek "ultimate war." "Ultimate war," this comrade argued, is "against the fundamental interests of all sections of our society." "What we must do, therefore," the comrade proposed, "is to organize a broad united front to expose the 'false threat of war.'"

Does our program speak of a "false threat of war," or an *actual, specific* threat to the peace of the world, stemming from the warmakers of Wall Street? Are the U.S. imperialists brandishing the H-bomb merely as a bluff? Are U.S. military bases being built in the far corners of the earth as defensive measures against any real threat of aggression? Are the military alliances, the revival of German and Japanese militarism, the arrogant intervention in the internal affairs of other countries—are these a "false threat of war"? If U.S. imperialism is not oriented on ul-

timate war, on world domination—then why the fear of war among millions all over the world and their active struggle against it?

It is, of course, vitally important that the American Communists be clear on the question, for we bear no small responsibility in providing the answers. Clearly this comrade is confusing two very different things—the false threat of “Soviet aggression” which the warmakers use as a pretext; and the real threat of wars of aggression instigated by U.S. imperialism.

Andrew Stevens, reporting to the Party’s national conference last year, stated:

“It would be the most criminal opportunist error to cultivate any illusion that the leopard has changed its spots, that American imperialism has abandoned its central goal of world domination and the perspective of an anti-Soviet war, that it has reconciled itself to living at peace with the Socialist world, that it is prepared to negotiate peacefully its differences with the Soviet Union.”

The major advances for peace achieved in the last year have considerably eased world tensions and make possible further victories for peace-loving humanity. But it is necessary to understand that these successes were wrested in struggle, in struggle primarily against U.S. imperialism which conspired to negate the people’s victories. U.S. imperialism cannot establish world domination by peaceful means. It

must plot war, strive to extend the arena of every local war, and prepare for the launching of an eventual new world conflagration. That is why the National Chairman of our Party, Comrade Foster, has warned time and time again not to overestimate the significance of the lessening of world tension in the face of the Eisenhower-Dulles-McCarthy foreign policy which persists in organizing provocations to heat up world tension, to frustrate all efforts at peaceful negotiations, to violate the people’s aspirations for peace.

Our Program in unequivocal terms states:

“But the Eisenhower-Dulles-McCarthy forces are striving desperately to foment war hysteria and aggravate world tensions. They are determined to block peaceful negotiations. Thus the present danger of war will continue to exist as long as the present insane war policy prevails. Only by their resolute struggle for a change in our country’s foreign policy will the American people help achieve a further easing of world tensions. Only a policy of peaceful co-existence will ensure a lasting peace.”

Any assumption that U.S. imperialist war provocations are automatically doomed to failure would paralyze the very peace action which alone can hold in check the desperation of the belligerent American imperialists. If today the Eisenhower Administration is compelled to enter into negotiations, it does so only to impede and obstruct negotiations. If it is compelled to

speak of its "peaceful" intentions, it does so only to disguise its real war aims before a people who so recently demonstrated their desire for peace in their overwhelming opposition to any intervention in Indo-China. Only a vigilant struggle against every war move, only a *concrete* struggle for peace directed against *concrete* war acts, can safeguard peace today.

Above all, it is necessary to bring about a fundamental change in U.S. foreign policy, to reverse the course of U.S. imperialism. That change can be realized, not through complacency that "peace is in the bag," but through a resolute struggle to bring into being "a new political majority" that will have the unity, the political fighting capacity to "impose on a new Congress and a new Administration, a new course in domestic and foreign affairs." That is the emphasis given by our Program.

The program committee eliminated reference to the "falling apart" of the world-wide coalition organized by U.S. imperialists against the Soviet Union, since this statement might be mechanically interpreted. Instead the Program now reads: "But this coalition now faces increased opposition from the peace-loving peoples and internal division from sharpening capitalist rivalries. It is now in a crisis."

The process of breaking Wall Street's grip on the economic and political life of the war-camp allies

has begun. They are stepping out on an independent course. The relentless struggle of the people for national independence, free of U.S. domination, will determine whether these growing imperialist conflicts will be reconciled at the expense of the people—or will result in the eventual breakup of the imperialist front. The struggles against NATO and the European Defense Community, against the remilitarization of Germany and Japan, for real pacts of European and Asian collective security, for the seating of China in the U.N., for the outlawing of the A- and H-bomb, are the battles ahead which will not mitigate but further sharpen the imperialist antagonisms.

No less false and harmful than the "peace is in the bag" attitude is the position of those who consider war inevitable and see no possibility of winning the fight for peace. These comrades see chiefly the aggressive might of U.S. imperialism. They see only the confusion created by the Big Lie among millions in our country. They see the working class still tied in the main to the reformist trade-union leadership's support of the war program. They see that the organized peace movement in our country has not yet reached the mass proportions of those in other capitalist nations. Therefore, they conclude that while the world peace forces may be able to secure certain victories, in the long run World War III is inevitable because of the weakness of the peace camp in our

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own country and the strength of U.S. imperialism.

The whole spirit and essence of our program rejects this defeatist outlook. Life itself has rejected it. The events of the last year alone showed that the American people, despite their confusion, were able to find the ways and means to express their desire for peace. They played a considerable role in helping to end the Korean war, in preventing the dispatch of U.S. troops to the Indo-China war, in speaking out forcefully for negotiations and against the use of the H-bomb. It was these expressions of the American people, joined with the activities of the world peace camp, headed by the Socialist Soviet Union, People's China, the European People's Democracies and the peoples of the colonial and capitalist world, which scored important peace victories, and curbed the war moves of U.S. imperialism.

A particular form of defeatism in the struggle for peace, expressed in the discussion, is the concept that the struggle for peace today must be a struggle for socialism. This concept gives a sectarian interpretation to the struggle for peace. For the objective of the peace movement today is not socialism—its aim is to ease world tensions, to compel the peaceful settlement of all disputed questions, to outlaw the H-bomb and A-bomb, to realize peaceful co-existence.

Stalin in his masterful work, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the*

U.S.S.R. clearly stated:

“The object of the present-day peace movement is to rouse the masses of the people to fight for the preservation of peace and for the prevention of another world war. Consequently, the aim of this movement is not to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism—it confines itself to the democratic aim of preserving peace. . . .”

To maintain that the struggle for peace must be a struggle for socialism would confine the struggle for peace to those who are prepared to struggle for socialism. It would place as a condition for unity in the struggle for peace the advanced understanding that so long as the capitalist system is not replaced with socialism wars are inevitable. It is, of course, true that only socialism will finally and irrevocably abolish the threat of war. But the sign of the times is precisely that people from different groups, of different political opinions and of varied religions have joined in the fight to maintain peace. This is true in our country as well, even if as yet the hoax of the “Soviet menace” holds back the full potential and organized strength of the struggle. What is important to underscore is that today the world camp of peace is powerful enough to *prevent* the outbreak of a particular war, to *impose* peace, to *maintain* peace.

The easing of world tensions achieved in the past year opens up new opportunities for greater vic-

ories. Moreover, as Comrade Foster shows in his article in *Political Affairs*, August 1954, "the question of peaceful co-existence is taking on an ever-increasing importance and urgency. This is because objective conditions are ripening so that the concrete development of such co-existence is becoming more and more a practical possibility. . . ."

THE MOVEMENT FOR NEGRO EQUALITY

You will note in the final text of the Program a new section titled:

The Crime of Negro Oppression—Threat to the Rights of All. This section is reflected also in the revised title of the Program as a whole which now reads: *The American Way to Jobs, Peace, Equal Rights and Democracy.*

Why this special section?

While it is true that the struggle for equal rights for the Negro people is part of the general fight for democracy—this struggle, however, is so distinctive a part of this fight, so special in character, playing so paramount a role in our national life, that it demands specific development.

The struggle for Negro freedom plays a major political role in our country. It is not merely one among many struggles, but influences every single development and is related to the whole course of march of the working class and the people generally.

The movement for Negro equal-

ity and for national liberation has always occupied a central place in the policies and activities of the Communist Party over the years. The Communist Party, as the Party of the working class, the fighter for the most oppressed, has conducted a relentless struggle against the whole system of national oppression which enslaves the Negro people and places them in the category of second-class citizenship.

Guided by its Marxist-Leninist theory, the Communist Party, decades ago, recognized the national character of the Negro people's oppression. This national character is determined by the status of nationhood of the Negro people in the contiguous area of the Black Belt in the South—in the area of the former slave plantation system—where they comprise today the majority of the population.

It is here in the heartland of the South that the Negro nation is held in subjection to the Bourbon-Wall Street white ruling class. It is here that the Negro people are held in semi-feudal bondage, robbed of land, super-exploited, disfranchised, a prey to lynch law, white supremacist indignities, and tyrannous oppression.

It is this condition of national oppression which directly affects the position of the Negro people in the other areas of the United States—where the Negro national minority is subjected to the whole white supremacist pattern of special exploitation, Jim Crow segregation, violence

and all forms of discrimination.

The struggle of the oppressed Negro nation for freedom, for national liberation, lies at the very center of the struggle for the economic, political and social equality of the Negro people, North and South. And this struggle can be brought to its fruition only when the Negro people in the Black Belt, where they constitute a majority, have the right of self-determination, the right to determine their own destiny.

The Negro people are the first to feel the brunt of economic crisis, of war, of fascism. Fascism and war would block the road of the Negro people to national freedom. Thus, in the special section of the Program, the struggle for the rights of the Negro is correctly placed as a special and major component of the general struggle for economic security, for peace and for democracy.

Just as a successful fight against McCarthyism is inconceivable without the full participation of the Negro people, so a successful struggle for Negro liberation is inconceivable without the defeat of McCarthyism. As our Program shows: "McCarthyism finds ready allies among the Dixiecrats and white supremacists. It builds upon and merges with an evil of long standing in our national life—the oppression of sixteen million Negro people."

There are some in our midst, however, who tend to minimize or even deny that McCarthyism represents any special danger to the Negro peo-

ple. It is argued that the Negro people could be no worse off under fascism than they are today. In essence, this view means that insofar as the Negro people are concerned they are already experiencing life under fascism.

The oppression of the Negro people has always been accompanied with special violence, both legal and extra-legal, taking a heavy toll in murders and maimings of Negroes. But this systematic government-inspired violence would become enormously intensified under the terrorist and racist dictatorship of fascism. McCarthyism for the Negro people would mean Ku Kluxism on the rampage.

Anyone, therefore, who minimizes the peril of McCarthyism, not only weakens the general movement of resistance against it, but renders a disservice to the whole freedom struggle of the Negro people.

The Program effectively answers all such dangerous contentions when it says:

"The growing menace of McCarthyism confronts the Negro people with a new and grave danger. The drive toward fascism and war threatens to block further progress toward economic, political and social equality, and imperils the very existence of the limited rights thus far attained."

The Negro people and their organizations understand this full well. And the Negro people have emerged as a major force in the anti-

McCarthy mass upsurge in the country.

It also becomes increasingly clear that the struggle for Negro freedom and the struggle for peace are interconnected. It was the Communist, Benjamin J. Davis, widely beloved Negro people's leader, who stressed in his report to the 1950 Convention "the indivisibility of the struggle for peace and the struggle for freedom," and showed that the liberation struggle of the Negro people, in essence anti-imperialist, merges with the liberation struggles of the colonial peoples in Asia and Africa and with the strivings for true sovereignty of the dependent Latin-American peoples.

The warmakers of Wall Street are visibly hampered in their attempts to impose "the American way of life" on other peoples by the shame of American lynch law and Jim Crow; while the world-wide camp of democracy, peace and socialism constantly manifests its solidarity with the freedom struggles of the Negro people in our land.

Our program shows the indivisibility of this struggle when it stresses that the elimination of national oppression in the Soviet Union, the rise of People's China, and the spreading colonial-liberation struggles "are powerful new factors in favor of the cause of Negro freedom." And further that the exposure of the white supremacist U.S. imperialists has "given added international significance to the Negro-liberation

struggles and embraces the possibility of winning further victories."

The May 17th ruling of the Supreme Court outlawing segregation in education confirms this analysis of our Program. This victory, as Comrade Foster stated, "belongs in the first place to the Negro people themselves," whose united persistent mass opposition to segregation has wrested this significant gain. A second important factor was the support this struggle received from the white masses, especially from organized labor. But no one can deny the decisive role in this victory played by the mounting opposition throughout the world to U.S. imperialism's drive toward world domination. The national oppression of the Negro people at home reveals the true essence of the Dulles-Eisenhower policy of "liberation."

The perspectives outlined in the Program for a new Administration in '56 and for a new type of government, a farmer-labor government, to check and defeat the threat of war and fascism cannot be realized without the maximum participation of the Negro people. And for the Negro people it is the necessary path of struggle toward the achievement of national liberation.

The December 1946 Resolution in which our Party reaffirmed its basic analysis that the Negro people constituted an oppressed nation in the area of Negro majority in the South, said the following:

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"Today, the struggle for Negro liberation is concerned with gaining equal rights throughout the country, which includes in the South, the struggle for attaining representative government and land reform. As our own history shows (Reconstruction) the development towards full and equal Negro participation in State and Federal governments also moves in the direction of various forms of self-government by the Negro people, together with their white allies, in the Black Belt areas where they are in the majority.

"This movement provides the basis for the full realization of Negro nationhood, whether it be achieved under capitalism or socialism."

In keeping with this perspective our Program makes an important and new contribution by setting forth the concrete form which the struggle for equal rights and self-determination will assume with the setting up of a farmer-labor government.

"Such a government," the Program says, "will act to secure to the Negro people full and equal representation on all levels of government, and *majority* rule in those sizeable areas of the South where they are, and have been for generations, the majority sector of the population."

The achievement of this objective by the oppressed Negro nation in the South is the indispensable and necessary condition for winning the full right of self-determination. It advances the struggle for self-government—for the right of the Negro

people to determine and realize their full dignity as a people.

The struggle today for representation in all levels of government points to the rising unity and advancing national consciousness of the Negro people. The achievement of full and equal representation and majority rule in the contiguous area of the Black Belt will advance the struggle for the realization of full nationhood.

FOR DEMOCRATIC UNITY TO ACHIEVE A NEW ADMINISTRATION

As in the public discussion, so also in our own ranks, considerable attention was given to the perspective of electing a new Administration in 1956, as the first important phase in the struggle to bar the road to fascism and bring about a change in the present bellicose foreign policy. This is quite understandable. For this perspective "goes to the heart of the tactical line proposed by the Program," as the letter of the Committee on Drafting the Program indicated last March.

There is general agreement with this perspective within our ranks. However, some unclarities were expressed on the character of this new Administration and particularly on the coalition of forces necessary to achieve the election of such a new Administration.

Our Party, since the end of World War II, especially since 1948, stressed

the need for a new political alignment in our country. It called for the building of an anti-monopoly, anti-fascist, anti-war people's coalition, expressing the unity of the working class and its main allies, the working farmers and the Negro people. Such a coalition would have as its aim the establishment of a people's government dedicated to the people's welfare, undermining the base of fascism, and to a policy of peaceful co-existence.

As our Program indicates, this remains a central objective. Only such a new type of government—a farmer-labor government—could not only check but defeat the threat of fascism, protect and expand the democratic rights of the people by curbing and controlling monopoly capitalism, and create more favorable conditions for the advance to **socialism**.

But this is not yet the path which the vast majority of the working class, of our people generally, are today prepared to take. The majority of the working people are as yet not seeking a solution to the approaching crisis, outside of the two-party system, outside of the ranks of the Democratic Party. Yet the masses do want an alternative to the Eisenhower-Dulles-Brownell Administration; they do want an alternative to the danger that McCarthyism may win complete domination of the government in '56—they want a practical alternative moving in a progressive direction. Large num-

bers, who remember the crisis years of the 'thirties, want to see a New Deal type of Administration under which they were able to achieve important democratic gains and reforms.

The significance of the Program is that it correctly evaluates the present level of mass consciousness and provides the answer which the masses seek. It thus gives a perspective that can be readily grasped by the working class and its allies today, a perspective, what is more, that can be won in united struggle.

What is the concept of this new Administration? As your Program states, it cannot be "a switch back to another Truman-type Administration." The Truman Administration, even though this is not yet understood by organized labor and the popular forces generally, not only betrayed the progressive features of the New Deal but advanced the reactionary bi-partisan foreign policy, and initiated the attack on democratic liberties, paving the way for the growth of reaction, of McCarthyism.

The new Administration must be one that will check the imminent threat of McCarthyism and reverse the bellicose course of our foreign policy—an Administration that will maintain democratic rights and democratic institutions and pursue a policy of peaceful settlement of international disputes.

Such an Administration will not, of course, be anti-imperialist and

anti-monopoly and therefore it will not be able to defeat and undermine the source of fascism, the source of the present war danger, and the source of society's economic ills. It will be a bourgeois government, but because of its mass support would more readily respond to the pressure of the masses, and be more readily influenced in its course by the broad popular majority which alone can bring it into being. Thus, it would be a vacillating, hesitating and wavering Administration, responding to the pressure that is greatest at the moment. While such a government could not eliminate the menace of fascism, it would nevertheless preserve the conditions for expanding the unity of action of the working people against fascism.

As the Program states, "it would be a New Administration which starts to build again where the New Deal left off." Such an outlook does not mean a return to the New-Deal regime of the past; for the new situation and the new problems confronting the people demand a movement forward from the New Deal, reflecting a more advanced stage of the people's struggles.

Clearly, the immediate perspective of ousting the Eisenhower Administration in '56, cannot be realized without developing a new political majority. Such a majority must include the main democratic forces in our country—the working class, the working farmers and the Negro

people. It must also draw upon the ranks of the professionals and intellectuals, the women, the youth, the national groups, and small and middle-sized business. It should include also those representatives of capital who for whatever reason, are opposed to McCarthyism, fear the consequences of the aggressive course of U.S. foreign policy, and are turning toward negotiations and mutual trade in international affairs.

Thus, what is envisaged is the broadest type of democratic unity. This, of course, is not yet the anti-monopoly, anti-fascist peace coalition—in which the working class plays the leading and decisive role. It is a coalescing of forces to fulfill immediate objectives in the struggle to check the fascist menace at a time when the working class has not yet become conscious of its position as the leading and unifying force against monopoly capitalism.

There are some comrades, however, who maintain that there are no capitalist circles which can play a role in a democratic movement to bring about such a new Administration. Those who say this fail to understand that fascism means a shift in power from the bourgeoisie as a whole to the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialist circles of finance capital. The bourgeoisie moves toward fascism not as a united whole, but with growing internal differences and struggles. Certain elements within the bourgeoisie still prefer to rule by bour-

geois-democratic means, even if further restricted. They are not yet ready to accept the consequences of fascist rule or of unleashing World War III. This division in the ranks of the bourgeoisie facilitates the possibility of electing a new Administration in 1956. And in fact, such a perspective can be realized today only with the participation of some capitalist elements.

On the other hand, some comrades exaggerate the role which certain circles of capital are playing or can play in relation to coalition activities on specific issues, struggles, or elections. They, in effect, consider these circles as *allies* of the working class almost on a par with the popular forces which enter as components in the coalition. Clearly, this is a Right-opportunist argument based on fallacious thinking. For such elements are not consistent fighters against fascism and war, and hence can not be relied upon.

The Program rejects both these erroneous contentions when it says:

"In addition to the popular forces certain groups of capital reflecting rifts and differences within the ranks of the ruling class are opposing—even though inconsistently and unreliably—the McCarthy program of fascism and war. Such opposition is bound to grow and to play an increasing role in the period ahead."

Such conflicts of interest in the camp of capital can be utilized only to the extent that the popular forces pursue an independent course. Le-

anism makes it incumbent that Communists, in the interest of advancing the cause of the working class, learn how to utilize the conflict of interests within the camp of the enemy, and to work with even the most unstable and vacillating elements in order to direct the blow against the main enemy—today the fascist threat.

Some comrades ask, how does this type of democratic unity differ from what Browder advocated? Is there not a danger of once again becoming entrapped in revisionism?

One comrade insists that when the program states that "No one group in America can achieve these things" it obscures and minimizes the role of the working class; while another comrade fearfully warns that the program, in emphasizing the people's common interests and people's unity against war and fascism, lapses into a Browderite classless approach.

First of all it should be clear, to Communists at any rate, that as the Party of the working class, our Party is the defender of the interests of *all* oppressed and exploited, of the *whole* people. Browder had no faith in the people. On the contrary, he wanted the people to pin their faith on "enlightened" monopoly capitalists, who, as he conceived it, would voluntarily double the purchasing power of the people, lead the country into an unprecedented era of industrial expansion and well-being. This approach stemmed from

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his view that in the post-war world class conflicts would disappear and be replaced by a long-term period of class peace.

Our Program contradicts this whole Browderite approach. It spells out the reactionary course of American monopoly capitalism, calls for increased battle against it and foresees, not a mitigation, but a sharpening of class conflicts.

The Program's appeal for democratic unity is obviously opposed to the whole Browderite concept. Browder of course spoke of democratic unity; but he envisaged such unity under the leadership of the decisive sections of monopoly capital with the working class following at their tail. Such "democratic unity" is revisionist and anti-working-class. The concept of democratic unity contained in the program unequivocally states that the organized labor movement "must become the propelling force of a broad popular movement," and assume on an ever increasing scale the leading role.

The program committee correctly rejected all such "Left" sectarian and Right-opportunist concepts. It characterized them as harmful to an understanding of the tactical line advanced in the program. It rejected these erroneous concepts as an ideological obstacle to the full unfolding of a bold united front policy in the shops, communities, and people's organizations in the fight for peace, against McCarthyism, for Negro rights, in defense of the people's liv-

ing standards.

As the program emphasizes, the struggle to realize the perspective of a new Administration and a new Congress in '56 demands united action on a day-to-day basis around the immediate economic and political issues. It demands the development of broad electoral movements in every area, city and state in every key election struggle of '54 and in preparation for '56.

The political majority required to change the character of Congress and turn the Eisenhower Administration out of power, will in the main express itself through the Democratic Party, and in some areas through the Republican Party as well. But this majority cannot accomplish its vital objective, unless it moves in an independent direction around a program of struggle that represents the interests of the working class, the Negro people and the farming masses.

In this connection, the organized labor movement must speedily overcome its lagging behind the Democratic Party machine. It must strengthen and perfect its own political instruments and organizations, and intervene actively in the selection, support or defeat of individual candidates. In this way labor can leave its independent imprint on the election results, even though it expresses itself as yet through the medium of the two-party system. It can do this most effectively if it expands its independent ties with the

Negro people and the farmers. The Negro-labor alliance and farmer-labor unity must be extended into the electoral field, as the driving force in developing democratic unity for the '54 elections and for '56.

THE NATURE AND ROLE OF A PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

The experience in these decisive united struggles will facilitate the process of the mass breakaway from the Big Business-dominated two-party system. It will open up, as our program indicates, a new stage of struggle to crystallize an independent political party of the workers, farmers and the Negro people—a farmer-labor party. Such a party will set for itself new sights—the election of a new type of government—a people's government.

A people's government will rest on the more advanced class alliance of the workers and the farmers, together with the Negro people—on a popular coalition, in which the working class plays the leading and decisive role, and in which the Communist Party has growing influence. Such a government would not merely check, but take measures to undermine, the very basis of the fascist danger, by curbing the powers of the monopoly capitalist class, and breaking its stranglehold over the economic and political life of our country. Such a government would pursue a policy of friendly and fraternal relations with all peo-

ples and nations—a policy of peaceful co-existence. Such a people's government would enact measures to secure to the Negro people equal rights, full and equal representation on all levels of government, and majority rule in the sizeable areas of the South where the Negro people constitute a majority. Such a government would protect the welfare and living standards of the working class and the farmers from the effects of the capitalist economic crisis, and would remove all obstacles to the active and direct participation of the common people on all levels of government. It would be a government resting on the will of the people, expanding all democratic institutions and democratic processes, abolishing the reactionary restrictions which have been imposed on the country by the men of the trusts.

It would thus be a government dedicated to jobs, peace, equal rights and democracy. Such a new type of government would mark a major advance for the forces of peace and democracy—and create more favorable conditions for the inevitable march of the working class and its allies toward a new stage of struggle—the struggle for socialism, the struggle to replace the outworn and hated capitalist system with the socialist reorganization of society, where class and national oppression, where fascism and war, would be wiped off the face of the land.

The program projects and shows

the inter-relation of the three stages of development—the struggle to *check* the course to war and fascism and to help elect an Administration and Congress pledged to maintain peace and preserve democracy; the struggle to *defeat* the fascist and war threats through the election of a new type of government—a farmer-labor, anti-monopoly government dedicated to the people's welfare, to a policy of peaceful co-existence, to the expansion of democracy; and the struggle toward socialism, the establishment of a socialist state where the working class in unison with its al-

lies will create a society of abundance for all.

We know that today the majority do not yet see to eye with us on the future course for our country. They have different ideas of how to assure social well-being, peace and progress. But these differences should not and must not stand in the way of *unity now*—unity urgently needed to realize the desire of the overwhelming majority of our people for an alternative to the Eisenhower-McCarthy-Dulles course of crisis, fascism and war. This unity is the need of the hour!

For Democratic Youth Unity*

By Leon Wofsy

It has been some time since our Party has had sharply placed before it its great responsibility in the fight to win the youth for peace and democracy.

One of the inspiring features of the Communist Party Program is its strong democratic appeal to the youth, its clear defense of the needs and interests of Young America.

The task that the Program sets forth in the crisis of our time demands an urgent reappraisal of our Party's outlook toward the youth movement. It demands an altogether new emphasis on youth.

At our 14th National Convention in 1948, Comrade Bob Thompson said:

Work among the youth is not just another important field of work for our Party and for the progressive forces, it is a *decisive* field of work. . . . Unless the working class can enlist in its support decisive sections of the youth, it cannot, regardless of what is done in other fields, win the struggle to check fascism and block war.

The great significance of our Party Program is that it clearly illuminates

the historic line of march that can save America in the present crisis, and can put our people on the high-road toward social emancipation. Much of its strength is in the concreteness with which it approaches the present stage of the democratic struggle. It points to a very definite and immediate objective: the bringing about of a new political majority that will smash the hold of McCarthyism in Congress, that will oust the Eisenhower Administration, that will impose "on a new Congress and a new Administration a new course in domestic and foreign affairs."

The objective that we point to and help to realize among the youth can be no less concrete—and no less bold! For there can be no new democratic political majority that does not embrace broad masses of youth. A political majority that can bring about "a new Administration which starts to build again where the New Deal left off" requires nothing short of a majority against McCarthyism and against war among the youth of America.

One of the hallmarks of the pop-

* Speech at the Conference.

ular movement of the New Deal period was, as everyone knows, that the youth in their overwhelming numbers were won against pro-fascist reaction. Labor could not have played the decisive role it did if the working-class youth did not rally solidly to the fight, and if there did not arise the inspiring democratic movement for unity of the young generation.

FOR YOUTH UNITY

What, then, should be the objective for the youth today? The objective that corresponds to the task of this historic period is the unity of the young generation in defense of its needs and interests, in defense of jobs, peace, equal rights, and democracy. Concretely, it is to bring not just a part of the youth, but the vast majority of the youth into united struggle for a change in national policy—domestic and foreign policy, and, above all, policy as it directly affects the welfare of youth. It is to bring not just a part of the youth movement, but the *decisive majority* of the organized youth movement into active collision with McCarthyism and the policies of the Eisenhower Administration.

In other words, the objective is, under new conditions and in new ways, to help achieve a powerful unity of youth that will in time become as vital a democratic force as the American Youth Congress was in the struggles of the 'thirties.

Is this a pipe dream? Or is it re-

alizable? Is there, in truth, a fighting chance for such a development?

We often point to the fact, and it is necessary that we do, that today's young generation is the victim of the most poisonous campaign of mind-twisting, corruption, militarism, crime and brutality. The price America is paying for Wall Street's program of national ruin is heaviest in respect to the youth. Reaction makes a major bid for the youth. Basing itself on the fact that this generation does not remember well the depression, the New Deal, the alliance with the Soviet Union, reaction hopes to win a mass base among the youth. For the most part, the youth of today have grown up in an atmosphere heavily drugged with the Big Lie.

To look soberly at these facts is to see all the more urgently the need to work among the youth if McCarthyism is to be frustrated and forced into retreat.

But the trouble is that often *all* we see about the youth is what Wall Street is out to make of them. This is especially true of our non-youth comrades, of the big section of our Party which by and large does not pay attention to youth work. Thus, these comrades take a defeatist view of the youth; and despair, as always, results in passivity and inaction.

Yet, if we really look into the matter, we see that the factors making possible broad democratic youth unity are fully as compelling as those that lead us to fight with confidence

for the new political majority described in the Program.

First, there is the fact that the economic crisis threatening the nation is already striking hard at the youth.

Even the doctored government employment statistics for July—which blithely ignore the entry of almost a million youth onto the job market this summer—admit an alarming rise in joblessness for young men between 20-24.

Last week saw the call by the National Security Council for the drafting of all young men, in the words of Asst. Secy. of Defense John A. Hannah, "geared to the day of active war with the Soviet Union . . . the only war that counts." This new super-UMT plan aims at demolishing any hope for a normal life youth may now entertain as a result of the successive truces in Korea and Indo-China. Permanent conscription and the goal of H-bomb war is Wall Street's only answer to mass youth unemployment.

The McCarthyite assault on democratic liberties has bared its teeth to the youth, not alone in the systematic drive to obliterate academic freedom. Even more appalling is the sheer terror unleashed against teen-agers as a whole in the guise of police warfare against "juvenile delinquency." New York is now witnessing—as have Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Chicago, and other cities—the most vicious, murderous assault by press and police on entire communities of Negro,

Latin-American, and other working-class youth. Instead of curbing the atmosphere of McCarthyism and violence that is mirrored in the rise of youth crime, instead of meeting the economic and recreational needs of youth, the answer is the night-stick, the jail, and the poison pen of racist slander.

No one can doubt the deep resentment that is rising among the youth in these circumstances. Just how bitter youth was during the Korean War is common knowledge. Today's score is told in bold style in a news item this morning out of Detroit—sports-caster Mel Allen received a police guard, because of warnings that 400 teen-agers planned to "storm" his booth during the Yankee-Tiger game in order to broadcast the truth about the brutal treatment of youth by Detroit's cops.

But, as we know, resentment by itself does not move youth to the democratic side. In fact, in Germany, youth's extreme dissatisfaction and restlessness only became grist to the fascist demagogues' mill.

THE NEW AWAKENING

So there is a second factor to look at, namely how the young generation has been affected to date by what the Party Program calls the "signs of a new awakening in our land." And here we see dramatic evidence of some very important developments. The evidence should not be exaggerated, but at all costs it

must not be passed over and missed—for it gives us a glimpse into the great democratic potential of American youth.

In those places where labor has begun to put its anti-depression program into action, young workers have been among the first to rally. The most outstanding example was the outpouring of young workers in Ohio at the UAW unemployment conference, many of whom exclaimed that they felt for the first time what a union can really mean.

There is the militant, often leading, participation of Negro youth, especially Southern Negro youth, in the fight against segregated education. Moreover, one can note the greatly increased activity of the NAACP youth councils.

The past year has seen strong, sometimes official, majority anti-McCarthy expression in some of the most important organizations of American youth. This is all the more significant in that for the first several years of the "cold war" a tight lid was clamped down in the official youth movement on any democratic expression or united action on social issues. Significant sentiment has also been expressed in these organizations for "a more flexible policy" toward negotiations and for easing international tensions.

On the campuses, the anti-McCarthy movement has taken on a truly mass, grass roots character. The big innovation on the campuses a couple of years ago was the panty

raid craze. But this year the movement that spread to campuses in every part of the country was the colorful Green Feather—Robin Hood campaign against the book burners.

Furthermore, the idea of student exchange visits to promote understanding and ease tension between the USA and the USSR has caught hold and is becoming a truly mass movement. This has culminated now in the proposed visit of Soviet student editors to the USA, something which is of immense significance for all Americans who want peace.

All of which adds up to this: that the "signs of a new awakening in our land" leave the youth by no means untouched. The talk about a "Silent Generation" is nonsense. There is a tremendous reservoir here for the democratic struggles of the working class and its allies. What is needed is for labor to go to bat for the youth—to become its champion against those who are kicking the young generation in the teeth. What is needed is a confident approach by all democratic forces to the youth of America—active intervention in the city, state and national political arenas with a democratic legislative program on specific youth issues: on jobs, against UMT, on "juvenile delinquency," recreation, etc.

HOW YOUTH CAN BE WON

Through what avenues will decisive sections of youth be won for the new political majority that must be forged in '54 and '56?

First, such a development will come about only if the *major existing organizations* of American youth begin more and more to reflect the desires and concrete needs of youth; if several of the most important of these organizations move with the anti-McCarthy stream and with those currents that are arising for a new, less bellicose approach to foreign policy.

Why is this the first question? Because these organizations—despite problems and even internal crises, and despite the fact that they are dominated in the main by wealthy adult directors—speak in their combined memberships for millions of young men and women.

Many of the most varied youth organizations have already felt the hot breath of McCarthyism on their own necks. The Y's have been labelled as "subversive." And on Friday, a day before Joe McCarthy addressed the Convention of the Illinois American Legion, that Convention blasted the Girl Scouts for "un-American influences" in spreading "United Nations propaganda."

Of course, the fact that the McCarthyites cannot tolerate even a bourgeois-dominated youth movement which has any kind of link, however feeble, to democratic tradition, will not by itself produce democratic youth unity.

There is a second avenue, the most decisive avenue to youth unity. And that is the development of struggles of a mass grass-roots character on the specific issues that stir the youth.

Could the organized youth movement of the 30's have played so vital a role in the struggle for democracy, without the struggles for youth's elementary needs which spread from one end of the country to the other? Could an American Youth Act have come forward without hundreds of local united struggles for jobs, for education, for recreation, and against conscription?

Struggles that arise on a particular issue can involve the entire youth movement. In one area, for example, a few unemployed young trade unionists got the idea that job seekers should get a quota of free or reduced-rate tokens for their job hunting. The union local, somewhat unenthusiastically, agreed to let them draw up a petition to be circulated on the unemployed lines. The response was so big that the union was impressed, and moved to set up an unemployed council to further activities. In fact, it decided to call a jobs conference in the fall to which it will invite the NAACP youth councils and other youth organizations in the area.

An even more graphic example is found in the campus Green Feather development. This movement began independent of any existing organization. Nor was it a Left movement—in fact, while directing fire at McCarthyism, it avowed opposition to Communism. As the movement rapidly spread, it, however, included students from Left, Right and Center against Mc-

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Carthy. It exercised a powerful impact on the official student organizations, was embraced by various student councils, and was made the theme of several official Academic Freedom Week Observances.

A third avenue is moving the trade unions into the field of youth activity, advancing the whole spirit and idea of labor-youth alliance. We do not have in our country the tradition of a trade-union youth movement. Nor is there now the possibility of a mass farmer-labor youth organization and movement, which will eventually come into being.

However, millions of young Americans are in unions—in fact, there are more young people organized in unions than in any other single form of organization. There is no limit to what the unions can do, once there is an awakening to the Battle for Youth.

There are a few signs recently that can mark the beginnings of such an awakening. In any case, there are examples of the kind of trade-union youth policy that should be fought for. In a few localities, trade unions have recently assigned representatives to work with local youth councils or conferences. In three areas, unions have thrown open their halls for a regular teen-age program; in one case, 1,500 teen-agers came to a union-sponsored picnic. In only one area have the beginnings of a trade-union young voters' committee appeared.

The further building of athletic

programs, opening the union halls for organized activity of unemployed youth, the appearance of union spokesmen at legislative hearings on "juvenile delinquency" and other issues—these are all forms through which the labor-youth alliance can be advanced.

A fourth avenue, is the development of varied, colorful forms for direct youth participation in politics. The past year or two has seen a big pick-up in movements for the eighteen-year-old vote, and more youth candidates have come forward in elections than in a long while. Youth committees in support of various candidates have also more frequently appeared. Especially since 1952, the Young Democrats have become more active, as have the Students for Democratic Action. The NAACP Youth Councils have developed a legislative and political action program, highlighted at the youth legislative conference in Washington last February.

Direct political action is a very important avenue toward democratic youth expression and unity. In fact, at times and for a given period, it can become the main link in the whole chain. Such is certainly the case in the next few months of the '54 Congressional elections. Generally, the political party machines do not encourage the growth of youth political forms—and small wonder, for organizations such as the Young Democrats have often been associated with the more liberal, rather

than the more reactionary, forces in given localities.

No doubt in the Congressional elections, with a more fluid political situation, youth can and will cut out for itself more of a place in the politics of our country.

THE NEGRO YOUTH

Taking stock of all avenues toward democratic youth unity, something special must be said about the development of the Negro youth movement. In the past four or five years, we have spoken of the perspective of an "independent Negro youth movement," or on occasion, of an "independent, anti-imperialist Negro youth movement."

But perhaps it would be better to speak of the goal, today, of a *united Negro youth movement*.

The original slogans advanced were often interpreted in sectarian fashion by the Marxist youth leadership. "Independent" was taken to mean "exclusive" of the NAACP and existing organizations of Negro youth. "Anti-imperialist" was taken to mean "more advanced" than the existing organizations and movements. Because the emphasis was not placed on *unity*, on a *united Negro youth movement*, there was, until the last year or two, preoccupation with schemes for creating from scratch some kind of new and advanced Negro youth center.

These initial sectarian errors have by now mainly been discarded. And

well they might be. For a significant trend toward united actions and conferences in major communities of Negro youth is beginning to assert itself both North and South. What the times call for is the organized unity of the broadest sections of the Negro youth and their organizations, *all* of whom are deeply stirred by the recent victory registered in the Supreme Court decision, *all* of whom are most sharply affected by the critical issues of joblessness, the draft, and all forms of Jim Crow.

THE LABOR YOUTH LEAGUE

With such a bold perspective, with such important new opportunities for democratic youth unity, the importance of the Marxist youth movement that has come into being in the past several years can hardly be overemphasized. It is not my purpose to discuss or analyze the work of the Labor Youth League here. But clearly this organization of Communist and non-Communist youth, this organization with a Marxist outlook and educational program, is indispensable as the main center of working-class leadership to the youth movement on every front. Without youth learning Marxism in a living way, in their own independent, youthful organization, there would be no source of day-to-day leadership, of growing inspiration to the fight for youth unity. Nor can young people grow as creative, working-class leaders if they are not intimate

ly involved in every struggle and movement of the youth. Certainly, all of this was more than amply proved in the 1930's. How much more is this true today, when in addition to everything else, a bold, active, and expanding challenge to the Big Lie is more than ever needed within the ranks of the youth themselves?

While the League remains a small organization, and is affected by a number of serious weaknesses, its firm establishment under increasing McCarthy-McCarranite fire is a signal advance for the entire working-class movement. Already the LYL has become vitally concerned in many places with some of the important developments beginning to take place among the youth—and is seriously beginning to tackle problems of youth unity, trade-union youth activity, and labor-youth alliance. It is beginning to fight, as shown at the 2nd National Convention of LYL in February, some of the sectarianism within the League organization itself — sectarianism whose main expression has been the failure to develop a popular, mass program of education as the cornerstone of all its activities.

THE PARTY'S RESPONSIBILITY

But, Comrades, the purpose of these remarks is to help advance *for our entire Party* clarity and active concern with the meaning of our new Program to the fight to unite

the young generation. No part of the Party can be removed from this "decisive field of work."

There has been a certain type of experience recently in a few places that is worth dealing with. In a couple of Districts, after a long period of neglect of youth work, the Party has sharply placed the need for a change. This is very good. But what happens? The effort is not made to sit down to examine the youth situation, to think through and collectively apply national Party youth policy in the District. Instead, a so-called simple approach is taken. That is to create youth clubs of the Party, and, in one case, even a youth section of the Party—for the stated purpose of developing cadre training and Marxist-Leninist education for young Communists. And what follows is even more confusion in youth work than before. On the one hand, the Party as a whole is left unaffected and does not have its attention turned to youth; on the other, an internal discussion develops on forms of youth organization, to the detriment of the whole Leninist approach toward the organizational independence of the youth movement.

Is it wrong for the Party to pay special attention to Communist education of youth? On the contrary, this should be a cardinal objective of Party work. But this is not accomplished by substituting specific forms of Party youth organization for a rounded policy of youth work.

Can the Party substitute for inde-

pendent youth organization? Can the present rich perspectives for mass youth work be realized by burying the question of leadership to youth under the weight of the many problems and tasks of the Party organization? Can these perspectives be realized without, in fact, *the flowering* of the independent organization that educates youth in a working-class spirit and Marxist outlook?

Rather we should look at some Districts that are beginning to take a somewhat different approach. Here there is no effort to substitute for youth organization, but rather a new look at what the whole Party can do in the labor movement and the people's organizations to help develop the democratic fight for the masses of youth. A new look at what the Party can do to encourage and give guidance to the new developments among youth and students. A new look at what the Party can do to encourage and assist the Marxist education of the advanced youth.

Comrades, our Party is proceeding to reestablish a National Youth Commission. District Youth Commissions are needed urgently. Such Commissions should call in and review area by area the Party's responsibility,

plans, and attention to youth work. These Commissions should help muster the forces of our Party in mass work and the trade unions to help score a real breakthrough in the youth field. They should bring the educational workers and leaders of our Party into a major effort to assist Marxist education among youth.

Comrades, all of this, I think, is implicit in the tasks set by our Party Program. The job is to make it explicit in the near future.

One of the most serious weaknesses of our Communist leaders in youth work is that we have not fulfilled our responsibilities in helping to make youth work the property of the entire Party. We have not helped creatively to enrich and develop the youth policy advanced at the last two National Conventions of our Party, and spelled out with such clarity by Comrades Betty Gannett, Bob Thompson, Carl Ross, and others.

Comrades, our Program points the path to a bright future. Ours is the Program of the Youth. It is the Program of hope and faith in the future of America and its great working class.

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International Fraternal Greetings to the Conference

In the name of the Labor-Progressive Party of Canada, and all progressive Canadians, I send you heartfelt fraternal greetings. I am confident that your National Conference will strengthen the fighting Communist Party of the United States, indomitable champion of peace and friendship among the nations.

We hail the heroism of the leaders, members and supporters of the CPUSA who are proving every day in the battle against McCarthyism, that vile poison—U.S. fascism—the passionate patriotism of the Communist movement of the United States. Your great Party is an example to all Canadians who cherish truth, honor and the solidarity of the working people. You uphold the finest traditions of the United States in these days of stress and storm.

The LPP salutes the valiant CPUSA!

We hail the new Program of your Party: *The American Way to Jobs, Peace, Democracy*. It truly is the modern Appeal to Reason, a powerful document that will contribute immensely to the solution of the national crisis that grips the U.S. In this Program, with its ringing appeal for people's action around the immediate national-democratic tasks, the CPUSA comes forward as the true defender of the national interests—peace, democracy and the welfare of the people of the U.S.A.

The LPP heartily greets the policy and work of the CPUSA towards the forthcoming crucial Congressional elections. Your decision to concentrate upon bringing about unity at the polls of all peace-loving citizens to achieve the election of a majority pledged to maintain U.S. democracy, to halt the rampage of McCarthyism, to stop the Eisenhower-Dulles drive to an atomic World War, is a vital, timely contribution to the real national interest and to the hope for world peace.

We greet the struggle of your Party and the U.S. working class, Negro people and the farmers. This struggle undoubtedly played its noble part at Geneva in winning cease-fire and peace in Indo-China and administering a heavy blow to Dulles and McCarthy. We are certain that the struggle will go forward to contribute towards winning an all-inclusive Security Pact for Europe, as proposed by the government of the Soviet Union, the seating of People's China in the United Nations, the further easing of international tensions.

While fighting against the Wall Street monopolists who have sunk their talons into Canada, to cast off U.S. imperialist domination of Canada and restore the national independence of our beloved land, we never forget that the U.S. working class and democratic forces and the patriots of Canada are united in the common cause of peace and democracy. Together, the peace-loving people of the U.S.A.

and Canada condemn the rape of Guatemalan democracy by U.S. imperialism. Together we fight to uphold the right of all American nations to national independence, for solidarity of all nations of the Western Hemisphere to uphold the right of all American nations to national independence, for solidarity of all national sovereignties. International solidarity of the working class and its allies will prevail over the U.S. imperialist wormongers and their dollar-bought stooges.

We greet Gene Dennis, titan son of the U.S. working class, on his 50th birthday and pledge to strengthen our work to help win his freedom. We greet all the brave sons and daughters of the U.S. working class now imprisoned and being persecuted under the Smith and McCarran Acts. We pledge to fight for their freedom.

We send hearty greetings to William Z. Foster, the great pioneer builder and leader of the CPUSA and wish him good health and many, many years of fruitful work for our mighty cause.

Yours fraternally,

Tim Buck
National Leader,
Labor-Progressive Party of Canada

Hearty Greetings to delegates of National Conference of Communist Party of United States of America from Central Committee of Communist Party of China.

The Communist Party of United States of America, along with democratic forces in United States, waging relentless struggles for peace and democracy under the most difficult conditions, have won the deep affection and sympathy of peace-loving people throughout the world.

We believe that the Communist Party of the United States of America, which unites around itself the broad masses of the American people who desire peace and cherish democracy, will surely make further and greater achievements in its struggle to consolidate the Party, strengthen the unity of all forces in United States for peace and progress, improve the livelihood of the working people, secure democratic freedom and defend world peace.

The Chinese people have always esteemed their friendship with the American people. We trust that the traditional friendship between the Chinese and American peoples will develop and strengthen in their common endeavor against war and for peace.

Success to the Conference.

Central Committee of the
Communist Party of China

Central Committee of Communist Party, Czechoslovakia, sends to all National Conference of your Party warm brotherly greetings. We are following with great attention endeavour of your Party, which in front of all progressive forces of

U.S.A. is leading courageous struggle against reactionary fascist tendencies of American imperialist circles in genuine interest of American people, and for realization of peaceful co-existence with nations of whole world. We believe that present indefatigable work for your comrades and decisions of your conference will still more inspire your Party, American working class, and American people to active struggle for peace and democratic rights. We wish that your conference meet with every success.

Long live C.P., U.S.A.!

Long live cooperation among all peaceful nations all over world!

*Central Committee,
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France warmly greets your national conference. Your work there will have great importance in arousing and stimulating the resistance of the people of the United States against McCarthy fascism, against the war policy of American imperialism in its drive towards world domination, as well as the struggle against the threat of economic crisis.

The end of the war in Korea and the cease-fire in Indo-China, achieved through the initiative of the Soviet Union which proposed the Geneva Conference, as well as the result of the world popular movement of struggle against the war camp, represents a new and important check to the policy of the leading circles of the United States.

We look forward with the whole of the working class and the people of France to the successful outcome of your conference and for the victory in the United States of the fight for peace and the development of peaceful relations among all peoples of the world.

Long Live the Communist Party of the United States!

Long Live Peace!

*For the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of France,
Jacques Duclos*

The Executive Committee and all the members of the British Communist Party send you warm fraternal greetings and good wishes on the occasion of your National Conference, and wish it every success.

You occupy a most vital sector in the world progressive movement at the present time. Your fight against the war policy of American imperialism is watched with admiration by peace-loving people throughout the entire world, and is of the greatest importance in humanity's fight for peace.

Here in Britain, opposition to the policy of war and surrender of Britain's national independence is growing daily. There is a powerful movement of opposition to the rearmament of German militarism, an almost universal demand for

the banning of hydrogen and atom bombs, and a strong conviction amongst the great majority of the British people that the Chinese People's Government should be admitted to the United Nations. The hatred of McCarthyism is widespread, and there is firm resistance to all attempts to introduce it here.

The great successes already won by the peace forces spur us on to win new victories. The warmongers have suffered many setbacks, but in their desperation they are planning new provocative and aggressive acts, the recent events in Guatemala being a warning of the lengths to which they are prepared to go in pursuit of their aims. The firm peace policy of the Soviet Union and its successes in peaceful construction, are, however, a source of encouragement to us and all progressive humanity.

We are sure that your Conference will greatly help your courageous fight for peace and for the best interests of the American people. We express our confidence that the Program which it will adopt will guide your Party and all progressive Americans in the days ahead, and result in the development of a broad and powerful movement to resist the drive to war and fascism and promote the aims and true interests of the American people for peace, jobs and progressive advance.

We send through your Conference our greetings to your imprisoned leaders, and especially to Comrade Eugene Dennis, and assure them that their stand for peace, democracy and Socialism is an inspiration and encouragement to millions of people outside the borders of the United States of America.

We pledge to do all in our power to strengthen the bonds of solidarity between our two Parties, to extend support for the victims of the attacks on democracy in the United States and promote the closest association and cooperation between the progressive forces in both our countries; to intensify our fight for peace and national independence, and hasten the day when the British and American peoples will place their two countries in the forefront of the forces of peace.

With warm fraternal greetings,

*George Matthews,
Assistant General Secretary
Communist Party of Great Britain*

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party sends militant fraternal greetings to the National Conference of the Communist Party, U.S.A. Best wishes for the success of your objectives which, in accord with the new party program, are aimed towards peace, the defense of democratic rights, the unity of the working class, and the strengthening of the ranks of the Party.

Warm Communist greetings.

*Central Committee,
Hungarian Working People's Party*

The Polit Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India greets the National Conference of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.

We are sure that this Conference will enable the courageous Communist Party of the United States of America, fighting against heavy odds for peace in the world and against Fascism at home, to further strengthen the struggle for peace. We are sure, that with the new program which the Party is adopting, the C.P.U.S.A. will be able to help the process of strengthening the democratic forces in the country which are on the eve of an important electoral struggle.

The Communist Party of India, which is itself carrying on a struggle against the maneuvers which American imperialism is resorting to in Asia, is watching with eagerness the courageous fight which the American Communist Party is carrying on, against the same imperialism which is threatening the peace and national sovereignty of our own country.

*E. M. S. Namboodiripad
Ag., General Secretary,
Communist Party of India*

To the National Conference of your Party, which is being held at a moment in which greater prospects of growth and of Peace are outlined on the international horizon, we send the fraternal and warm greetings and well-wishes of the Italian Communists.

Well do we know from our experiences during the 20-year struggle against fascism how difficult are your efforts and sacrifices. But we also know that *your road*, to liberate the United States from the menace of McCarthyism and from the incubus of new military ventures, is the high road on which the American nation must set out if it wishes to equal its traditions of the past and to be worthy of a great future.

Of this future, you, today, are the promise and the guarantee. We wish success to your conference and to all your work.

*With fraternal greetings,
Palmiro Togliatti
General Secretary
Communist Party of Italy*

MEXICO

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Mexico sends revolutionary greetings to the national conference of the Communist Party of the United States. At the same time, it expresses its absolute certainty that this conference will constitute a very important milestone in the fight for world peace, respect for the independence of nations and the existence of democratic liberties, against the oppressors of the people of North America and the war inciters, the monopolists of Wall Street.

The defeat of the war policy of North American imperialism at the Geneva

Conference and the growing vigor of the camp of peace, democracy and socialism headed by the Soviet Union, encourage the Mexican people in their fight for peace, for national independence, for the creation of a democratic government and for the people's welfare.

In its fight against McCarthyism, for the freeing of political prisoners, for peace, for respect for the sovereignty of nations and for the realization of its popular program, the Communist Party of the United States can count on the deep sympathy of the Mexican people.

Long live the Communist Party of the United States!

Long live the camp of peace, democracy, and socialism!

Long live the Soviet Union!

For the Central Committee

Dionisio Encina

General Secretary

Communist Party of Mexico

On the occasion of the national conference of your Party we send you hearty fraternal greetings and wish you fruitful discussion. Working masses of our country greet progressive forces of American people which fight despite repression, persecutions and terror against fascism and reaction; unmask criminal war plans of American imperialist aggressive circles; defend democratic liberties and peace. We wish you best results in work for strengthening your Party and uniting all sound forces of American people for struggle against the danger of a new world-war, for peace and friendship among peoples.

Central Committee

Polish United Workers Party

Ready—

THE ORIGINS OF CHRISTIANITY

By ARCHIBALD ROBERTSON

Serious and thoughtful students will hail the publication this month by International Publishers of Archibald Robertson's *The Origins of Christianity*, price \$2.50.

The author, a renowned British Marxist scholar and historian, provides in this volume a comprehensive analysis of the social roots of early Christianity, of the forces which contributed to the founding of the Christian church, and of the revolutionary and conservative tendencies within the first Christian communities. His study reveals how the early Christian writings reflect real controversies between social classes which developed in the sick and dying slave society that was making way for feudalism. His study also traces the development of messianic ideas among the Jews of the Roman Empire, discusses the "myth" theory about Jesus, maintaining that the Christ story originates in definite historical events.

In demonstrating that Christianity was the product of a long and complex historical evolution which began centuries earlier, Dr. Robertson unravels the tangled problem of Christian origins, throwing a brilliant light on this focal question, and on the revolutionary role of the Prophets and the final crystallization of a new, dogmatic and authoritarian religion.

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